







# SARACENIC HERALDRY





# SARACENIC HERALDRY

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## PREFACE

THE object of this book is to provide a fully documented armorial roll of Saracenic sultans, princes, and knights, designed to meet the frequently expressed wish of students of Muslim archaeology for a work of this description. If the list of holders of Ayyubid and Mamluk blazons given in the relevant chapters comes any nearer to being complete than any hitherto published, and if the inscriptions are correctly read, and the knights, so far as identified, properly identified, then the book will have served its purpose. On the other hand, it was not considered necessary to register every single variant of a blazon on potsherds and other objects not accompanied by historical inscriptions.

Since the owners and custodians of Muslim objects with blazons, as well as European heraldists who are interested in Saracenic heraldry, by far outnumber the small group of Muslim archaeologists, the following pages have been written chiefly for their guidance. It is for their convenience, too, that translations and explanations have been added which would be superfluous in a work intended for Arabists.

In transliterating personal names I have been guided by the spelling used by Arab authors, i.e. verbal descriptions of vowels and consonants, or failing this by vowel-signs indicated by scribes. In cases where neither was available, the transcription has been based upon analogy or upon traditional spelling. The object of this system was to convey to the reader an accurate graphic rendering of these names as expressed through the medium of fully vocalized Arabic script and not the phonetical values as pronounced by Turkish tongues therefore *Ulmās* instead of *Ölmās*, *Qurqumās* instead of *Qorqmās*, &c.

Once a transcription had been adopted it was adhered to throughout the book, except in cases in which the Arabic text reproduced here made a different one necessary. Then the latter was used in the translation of the relevant inscription, and in the translation only, e.g. always *Māridīnī*, but on p. 56: *Māridānī*; always *Naurūzī*, but on p. 255: *Nayrūzī*.

Abbreviations will be found either on p. xvi or at the head of the Bibliography. The latter includes books and articles in European languages only, in which blazons are discussed, mentioned or reproduced. Oriental texts will be found in the footnotes; they have been excluded from the Bibliography

except in the case of Quatremère's translation of the *Sulūk*, which figures there for the sake of its commentary.

In the course of collecting the material and the writing of this book, I fear I must have sorely tried the patience of all those to whose care Saracenic blazons are entrusted or who happen to possess any knowledge of the objects described or the subject-matter dealt with. Yet with one exception, all the doors at which I knocked were opened to me, so that I deem it a pleasant duty to thank the various institutions and private collectors, too numerous to be mentioned individually (but whose names appear as owners in the description of the respective objects), for allowing me to make a study of their treasures and to publish a description of them. I should like to express my grateful thanks to Mr. E. T. Richmond, Director of Antiquities, Jerusalem, for constant support; to Mr. R. A. Harari, of London, for his unfailing help; to Prof. Gaston Wiet, under whose enlightened directorship the treasures of the National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, were made available for research; to Captain K. A. C. Creswell, F.S.A., in whose collection of photographs I found several with blazons that I am now glad to publish; to Prof. Ernst Herzfeld, Berlin; Prof. Karl Wulzinger, Karlsruhe; Prof. R. M. Riefstahl, New York; Mr. Cyrill Wallis, Edinburgh; Dr. C. J. Lamm, Roslags-Näsby; Prof. L. Rosenthal, Lyon; Mr. A. H. Christie, Cromer, and Monsieur J. Sauvaget, of the Institut Français de Damas, for sketches or photographs of various blazons and for permission to publish them; to Prof. M. Sobernheim and Prof. E. Kühnel, both of Berlin, for photographs and descriptive notes and for their valuable suggestions when we discussed Muslim heraldry together; to Minister-Resident Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim, Berlin, who expressly unpacked a portion of his rich collection of Oriental objects for my benefit; and to Mme Max van Berchem, Geneva, who kindly allowed me to study the collection of squeezes, photographs, and travel notes left by her late husband. In all the cases in which the above-mentioned scholars had the kindness to supply me with texts of inscriptions, their names are given, in brackets, at the end of the relevant texts.

I wish to record my deep gratitude to the late Prof. J. Horowitz of the University of Frankfurt o/M, Visiting Director of the Oriental Institute of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for having read and given me the benefit of his valuable remarks on the manuscript of the Introduction and twelve items of the Armorial Roll, and to tender my warmest thanks to the Rev. H. Danby, D.D., Canon of St. George's, Jerusalem, for going over approximately two-thirds of the Introduction, as well as to Mr. St. H. Stephan and

Mr. M. Avi-Yona of the Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem, for their share in reading the proofs, to the latter quite especially for his checking of the index.

All the drawings have been prepared by Mr. N. Reiss, Assistant of Dr. E. L. Sukenik, Archaeological Department of the Hebrew University, partly from drawings made by Miss G. R. Levy, London, and partly from photographs and squeezes.

My special thanks are due to the Government of Palestine, without whose generous assistance the book would never have been published in its present form.

Last but not least it is a pleasant duty to thank the officers of the Clarendon Press for their untiring courtesy, and the readers of the Press for their interest and attention in producing this volume.

The reader is asked to make allowance for any shortcomings in the present study since, although the collecting of the material was started in 1923, the book itself was actually compiled during four short periods of leave abroad.

The terminology usual in descriptions of European coats of arms has—so far as possible—purposely been dispensed with.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from making a similar appeal to that with which Rogers Bey, some fifty years ago, closed his paper on Muslim Heraldry: that all those who own, or who know of any Muslim objects with blazons should send me rubbings of them and thereby assist me in the pursuit of heraldic studies.

L. A. M.





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## ABBREVIATIONS

b.	= bottom of page, from bottom	Na.	= Nāṣir ad-dīn
m.	= middle of page	Najm.	= Najm ad-dīn
t.	= from top	R.	= Rukn ad-dīn
A.	= 'Alā' ad-dīn	S.	= Saif ad-dīn
Al.	= 'Alam ad-dīn	Sa.	= Sa'd ad-dīn
B.	= Badr ad-dīn	Ṣal.	= Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn
Ba.	= Bahā' ad-dīn	Sār.	= Ṣārim ad-dīn
Bu.	= Burhān ad-dīn	Sh.	= Shams ad-dīn
Gh.	= Ghars ad-dīn	Sha.	= Sharaf ad-dīn
H.	= Ḥusām ad-dīn	Shi.	= Shihāb ad-dīn
I.	= 'Izz ad-dīn	Shibl.	= Shibl ad-daula
J.	= Jamāl ad-dīn	T.	= Taqī ad-dīn
M.	= Muḥibb ad-dīn	Taj	= Tāj ad-dīn
N.	= Nūr ad-dīn	Z.	= Zain ad-dīn



# INTRODUCTION

## DEFINITIONS

IN considering the emblems which form the subject of this book, and which scholars have been accustomed to term heraldic,<sup>1</sup> it should be borne in mind that some have been in doubt as to whether 'coat of arms' was the proper description for such emblems.<sup>2</sup> It is only natural, therefore, that certain scholars should have suggested other terms, such as episema<sup>3</sup> or badge.<sup>4</sup> Taking as our starting-point the definition of a blazon considered by Fox-Davies<sup>5</sup> to be one of the best, namely that a coat of arms 'requires the twofold qualification that the design must be hereditary and must be connected with armour', Saracenic blazons are blazons in the full sense of the word, and we shall therefore call them so in the following pages.

To describe the blazons we are dealing with as 'Arabic' or 'Muslim' would be equally inaccurate, because the term 'Arabic' would exclude the vast majority of Ayyubid and Mamluk amirs who were of Kurdish, Turkish, or Circassian origin, while 'Muslim' would include Rasūlids, Naşrids, Urtuqids, Saljūqs, and others, whose heraldry is not dealt with in this volume. Thus, despite the fact that the exact meaning of the term 'Saracenic' is still open to discussion, it has been chosen as conveying to most readers the idea of 'Muslim in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, during the period which followed the Crusades and preceded the Ottoman conquest'—which is exactly the compass, geographical as well as historical, of the section of Oriental heraldry which forms the subject of this book.

## SOURCES

Literary sources for our knowledge of Saracenic heraldry are very scanty indeed. Eliminating mere quotations and repetitions, the number of passages in Arabic literature in which the word 'blazon' occurs is well under fifty,<sup>6</sup> and of these a fair proportion contains no information of value. In the absence of 'Colleges of Arms', armorial rolls and technical texts are non-existent, and with but a single exception<sup>7</sup> the description of blazons is verbal, and without

<sup>1</sup> Prisse d'Avennes, Karabacek, Rogers, Artin, Ströhl, van Berchem, Lane-Poole, Sarre, Kühnel, Mittwoch.

<sup>2</sup> Prinnet, H. Devonshire.

<sup>3</sup> A. de B. (Adalbert de Beaumont?), *Bulletin Critique*, XXIV. 527.

<sup>4</sup> Gayet, *L'Art Arabe*, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Guide to Heraldry*, London 1925, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> The most interesting ones quoted on p. 28, nn. 1, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Dhahabī, *al-Muntaqā*, MS. in the library of Zeki Pasha, Cairo, s.a. 694 A.H.

any pictorial record to help identification and attribution. Saracenic coats of arms are sometimes mentioned in the chronicles of the Crusaders,<sup>1</sup> but the descriptions given are generally lacking in the very details that would be of assistance in reconstructing and establishing blazons of which no originals have so far been discovered.

European travellers and pilgrims in the later Middle Ages have often misinterpreted the blazons they came across in the East and attributed them to the wrong persons, especially if they resembled European coats of arms.<sup>2</sup> All the greater, therefore, is the importance to be attached to the original blazons and to the inscriptions accompanying them. These were shown on every possible object and made in every possible material, and we actually find them everywhere: in architecture, on the façades of houses of every description, on window-grilles, doors, on capitals of columns, wall-paintings, coats of mail, weapons, coins, lamps, combs, horse-armour, textiles, manuscripts, water-bottles, plates and dishes of all kinds, on figures of shadow-plays, and on perfume sprays. It goes without saying that where the blazon went with a document of an official character or was made of precious material, it was more carefully and reliably depicted than in the case of a cheap piece of crockery; for that reason we have always taken coins, architectural monuments, and glass objects into first consideration, although even here the difference is very small indeed. It is a great pity, in this connexion, that one of the most reliable and informative sources of knowledge of the heraldry of other countries, namely the seals, bear no heraldic devices in Saracenic countries. In illuminated manuscripts blazons as a rule are very carefully painted, but the number of such manuscripts extant is too small to be of any consequence.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Itinerarium Ricardi*, ed. Stubbs, p. 272, or *Joinville*, ed. de Wailly, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer* (ed. Schefer, p. 37), attributed a fleur-de-lis on the walls of Damascus to Sultan Barqūq; Ludovico di Varthema, *Itinerary* (ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, London, The Argonaut Press, 1928, p. 8), and Jean Thénaud, *Le Voyage d'Outremer* (ed. Schefer, p. 114), considered the same blazon to be the emblem of a Florentine mamluk who, according to an historical legend widely disseminated in the Middle Ages, built the fortress of Damascus; Felix Fabri (ed. Hassler, III. 93) misinterpreted a simple blazon in Jerusalem as Sultan Qāyṭbāy's. Some information perhaps still lies hidden in the legends about the Oriental origin of certain European coats of arms, as in the case of the arms of the Visconti (Pierre Palliot, *La Vraie et Parfaite Science des Armoiries . . . de Lowan Geliot*, Paris 1660, anastatically reprinted, Paris 1895, p. 355 f., s.v. Givre; H. Nützel, *Embleme und Wappen auf muhammedanischen Münzen*, p. 4), which could be well compared with the dragons on the Bāb at-Ṭalīm, Baghdad, or with a relievo on a marble slab in the Arabic Museum, Cairo (Artin, *Contribution*, p. 74, no. 21; Max van Berchem, *CIA. Égypte*, I. 686 ff.; Karabacek, *Sarazenische Wappen*, pp. 1 ff.), or with Urtuqid coins (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, III, pl. VII, no. 329; Karabacek, l.c., p. 3).

## THE STATUS OF A SARACENIC BLAZON

The blazon was one of the many prerogatives of the amir, or military dignitary, in Ayyubid and Mamluk society. Apart from the sultan, amirs, and amirs only, are known from literature to have used it,<sup>1</sup> and none but a sultan or an amir ever figures as the main person in an historical inscription accompanying a blazon. In accordance with the practice of that most bureaucratic chancery of the Mamluks, one would expect endless rules and regulations fixing the status of the blazon and giving infinite minutiae of the circumstances in which it should be worn; but the fact is that in the fourteen volumes of Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* there are fewer lines devoted to the blazon than pages to such questions as who should bear the title *sāmīy* with a *yā* and who *sāmī* without a *yā*, or how the *basmalah* should be written. And the fact that the same author did not deem it worth while even to mention the blazon in the corresponding chapter of his abridgement of the above-mentioned work shows that the use of coats of arms was left to the discretion of amirs, and that—in his day, at any rate—it was not one of the privileges controlled by the government.

This was most probably not the original situation. Abu-l-Maḥāsīn b. Taghrībirdī, referring to an event in the middle of the thirteenth century, tells us: '... Therefore, when he (i.e. al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-dīn) dubbed him (i.e. Aybak, the later Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'izz) an amir, he gave him the figure of a table (*ḫbānjā*) as blazon.' Qalqashandī, who finished the *Ṣubḥ* in 1412,<sup>2</sup> says: 'It is the custom that every amir . . . have a special blazon . . . according to his choice or preference.'<sup>3</sup> Without unduly pressing these two statements it would appear to be safe to infer that originally the blazon was granted by the sultan. But whether it was granted as a special distinction conferred upon individuals or upon noblemen as a class, we do not know. Later, with the increasing number of amirs entitled as such to arms, the choice of the emblem was apparently left to the discretion of the amir himself. But it should be noted that whether granted or chosen, the emblems, so far as we can understand them, with very few exceptions represented the office held by the amir at the time of his being

<sup>1</sup> In all cases in which holders of ecclesiastic or administrative posts are known to have had blazons, they are also known to have occupied positions reserved for amirs. We can assume, therefore, until further evidence that they wore their badges in their capacity of military dignitaries.

<sup>2</sup> Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> IV. 61 f. It is possible that this passage was copied from the *Masālik al-Aḥsār* which Qalqashandī so copiously made use of. At all events, the passage reflects the situation of the early fourteenth century.

made amir,<sup>1</sup> until in the fifteenth century it became a collective badge of military groups.<sup>2</sup>

The reason why the Saracenic blazon never came to be more than one of the many attributes of amirial dignity would seem to be that there was no great personal importance attached to it. The two great stimuli for the development of the coats of arms in Europe, viz. the helmet with the vizier that made the face invisible in tournament and warfare, and hereditary land tenure involving obligatory military service, did not exist in the East. Although the Saracenic blazon was hereditary among amirs, yet those of their sons who, as so many did, chose an ecclesiastic or administrative career, apparently had no right to arms. The blazon could thus never reach the importance it attained in the West; an importance which subsequently led to registration, to 'Colleges of Arms', and to legal protection.

### THE MEANING

From the time of Prisse d'Avennes in 1877,<sup>3</sup> Saracenic blazons have been regarded as signs of office on the basis of Ibn Taghrībirdī's statement<sup>4</sup> that al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-dīn gave Aybak a *ḵbānjā* as blazon when, as his taster, he made him amir. This explanation of Muslim heraldic emblems as signs of office was so self-evident that its correctness was never questioned, although it seemed to stand quite alone, and although, as van Berchem says in his last work with regard to the cup as a symbol of office, this view was never based on any definite fact.<sup>5</sup> But there is another passage extant to corroborate it. Abu-l-Fidā', in his *History*,<sup>6</sup> says that amirs holding certain offices had special emblems. These he described in the following words: 'And the emblem of secretary (*dawādār*) is the pen-box, and of the armour-bearer (*silāḥdār*) the bow, and of the superintendent of stores (*tishtdār*) the ewer, and of the master of the robes (*jamdār*) the napkin, and the emblem of the marshal (*amīr akbūr*) is the horseshoe, and the emblem of the *jāwīsh* is a golden *qubbah*.' But despite this

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 'Signs of Office', p. 10 f.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Art Arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 'Composite Blazons', p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Nujūm*, MS. Paris, fo. 157<sup>v</sup>, quoted by Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I a, p. 2, n. 4. The corresponding passage in the *Manhal* has also the very significant words *لهذا رنكه صوره خونجا*, and *therefore*, namely, because he was a taster, the emblem of his blazon was a table.

<sup>5</sup> *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 288.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Reiske, IV. 380, ed. Constantinople, III. 156. Although this passage deals with Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad b. Takash, it reproduces so closely the conditions at the Ayyubid and Mamluk courts that it can be quoted as a case in point.

description, it might not be wrong to assume that these emblems were the actual objects used, perhaps for ceremonial purposes, especially as the word used for 'emblem' is '*alāma*' and not the usual *rank* or *shi'ār*. But a careful comparison of the emblems with the text of the inscriptions accompanying them and the biographies of their respective holders (see Armorial Roll) proves that the symbols of the duties and the devices on the shields correspond, and that seven blazons at least can without doubt be considered as signs of office: the cup of the cup-bearer (*sāqī*), the napkin of the master of the robes (*jamdār*), the polo-sticks of the polo-master (*jūḳandār*), the round table of the taster (*jāshnigīr*), the pen-box of the secretary (*dawādār*), the sword (probably including the dagger and the scimitar) of the armour-bearer (*silāhdār*), the bow of the bowman (*bunduḡdār*) or of the armour-bearer. Among the emblems mentioned by Abu-l-Fidā' and accompanied by historical inscriptions are two concerning which I have not been able to determine whether their holders ever held the posts implied by their blazons, viz. the historian al-'Ainī the post of a *ṭishtdār*, and the *ḥājibs* Sharaf ad-dīn Mūsā and Baktamur (or his son 'Alī) the post of a *jāwīsh*. With a fair degree of certainty we can attribute several blazons which are not accompanied by inscriptions, e.g. the pair of banners to the standard-bearer ('*alamdār*'), the drum and sticks to the drummer (*ṭabldār*), the trumpet to another member of the musical corps, the round three-fielded shield to the postman (*barīdī*), the shoe (if it is a shoe) depicted by Artin in his *Contribution*, No. 156 to the shoe-bearer (*bashmaqḡdār*).

Van Berchem<sup>1</sup> has already pointed out that the offices symbolized by the blazons are not offices of great importance. We do, however, sometimes find higher offices also (*grand dawādār*, *amīr aḳḥūr*, *amīr silāḥ*), but they invariably have corresponding designations in the ranks, e.g. the junior dawādār (*dawādār ṣagḡīr*), the junior marshal (*amīr aḳḥūr ṣagḡīr*), the *silāhdār*. On the other hand, there are some emblems that would represent only small offices, such as that of the taster, the polo-master or the master of the robes, which, so far as the evidence of the chronicles goes, were never held by any high amir. Yet it would not be unlikely for an amir to perpetuate the memory of his achievements as a page or as one of the rank and file (*jundī*), achievements that had secured for him the distinction of the amirate, just as bezants are displayed on shields of knighted European bankers, and arms on those of soldiers of renown. That amirs were proud of their lowly origin and never sought to hide their humble station in life in the days of their youth is a familiar enough fact.

<sup>1</sup> *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 290.

Many dignitaries are known to posterity by the nicknames they earned in their early years, and in cases where such nicknames referred to offices held and did not detract from the good character of their bearers, the amirs were accustomed to mention them in their official inscriptions.

Did the amirs change their blazons when changing their offices? Gayet<sup>1</sup> and Artin<sup>2</sup> took it for granted that they did, without giving any reason for such assumption. Van Berchem<sup>3</sup> held the same view, basing his theory on the difference of blazon on two objects made at different times for the amir Āqbughā min 'Abd al-Wāḥid. The blazon of one of these objects, namely, of a lamp, shows a white napkin on the red middle field of a white three-fielded shield, whereas the blazon of the other, a hemisphere in bronze, consists of a red cup on the large lower field of a two-fielded shield. The titles of Āqbughā as given on the lamp being of a lower rank than those on the hemisphere, and the identity of the amir being established beyond doubt, van Berchem concluded that with the change of his position Āqbughā changed his blazon as well. Nevertheless the conclusion was wrong. When examining the hemisphere in the Victoria and Albert Museum, I could see traces of the original blazon—outlines of the napkin on the middle field—in two places (see Roll, s.v. Āqbughā m. 'Abd al-Wāḥid), which makes it quite clear that the blazon of Āqbughā was in both cases the same. However, when at a later date the object changed hands, its new proprietor contented himself with changing the blazon, without changing the text of the inscription.

Another case in point is the blazon of Bahādur Āṣ,<sup>4</sup> on a copper basin, now in the Arab Museum, Cairo. The original emblem, a six-petalled rosette, has been effaced and replaced by two swords, these in turn also having been effaced and replaced by a cup. This example is rather more involved, as Bahādur was for some time an armour-bearer, and therefore should have ordinarily been the holder of a shield with a sword or swords as emblem. But on his mausoleum in Damascus, erected towards the end of his life, there is again the six-petalled rosette as his only blazon. Kitbughā's blazon remained unchanged during his amirate and sultanate, and so did those of Qarāsunqur,<sup>4</sup> Yūnus ad-Dawādār,<sup>4</sup> Manjak,<sup>4</sup> and Ishiqtamur,<sup>4</sup> all of whom left specimens of their arms which can be confidently ascribed to different points in their respective careers and yet in

<sup>1</sup> *L'Art Arabe*, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Contribution*, pp. 43, 181, n. 4, 227; 'Trois différentes armoiries de Kaït Bay' (in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, no. 9, 1888), p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, III, 78, n. 2; Kahle, 'Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Egypten' (in *Islam*, II, 191).

<sup>4</sup> See Roll, s.vv.

no case show the slightest change in the presentment of the emblem.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be conclusive proof that the amirs retained the blazons, once chosen or granted to them, for the whole of their lives.

## ARMES PARLANTES

It is generally assumed that many Saracenic coats of arms were *armes parlantes*, pointing to the names of the bearers. Prisse d'Avennes was the first to use the term,<sup>2</sup> and several writers have since repeated it.<sup>3</sup> Four examples have been quoted: the felines of Baybars and Barsbāy, the duck of Qalāūn, the falcon of Āqsunqur. As to the last three, there is to my knowledge not a single object with an historical inscription mentioning the name of Barsbāy or Qalāūn or Āqsunqur which shows any one of the devices mentioned. There is a bottle of blue glass with a white 'lion' passant attributed to Barsbāy,<sup>4</sup> probably because of the feline and the title al-Malik al-Ashraf, but there were several al-Ashrafs among the Mamluk sultans and there are upwards of a dozen 'lions' in different colours on glass fragments to be found in the museums of Europe and Cairo. There remains only Baybars. Max van Berchem has pointed out<sup>5</sup> that apparently it did not occur to Maqrīzī that Baybars' blazon was a canting coat, as he would otherwise probably have translated it as *fahd* (panther) and not as *sab'* (lion).<sup>6</sup> To this may be added the statement of Ibn Iyās that these lions were 'an indication of his courage'.<sup>7</sup> Without pressing the last argument too far, we may safely assume that at least two Muslim writers living under the Mamluks and well acquainted with their ways of thinking would not consider this blazon to be an *arme parlante*.

The only piece of evidence in favour of this theory is the hitherto

<sup>1</sup> The various examples of the armorial bearings of Bashtāk, Uzbek, Tankiz, Ṭughāytamur an-Najmī, Ṭuquztamur cannot be quoted in this connexion, as the titles of these amirs prove that the blazons date from one particular period of their lives, during which they did not change their offices.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Art Arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire*, p. 66.

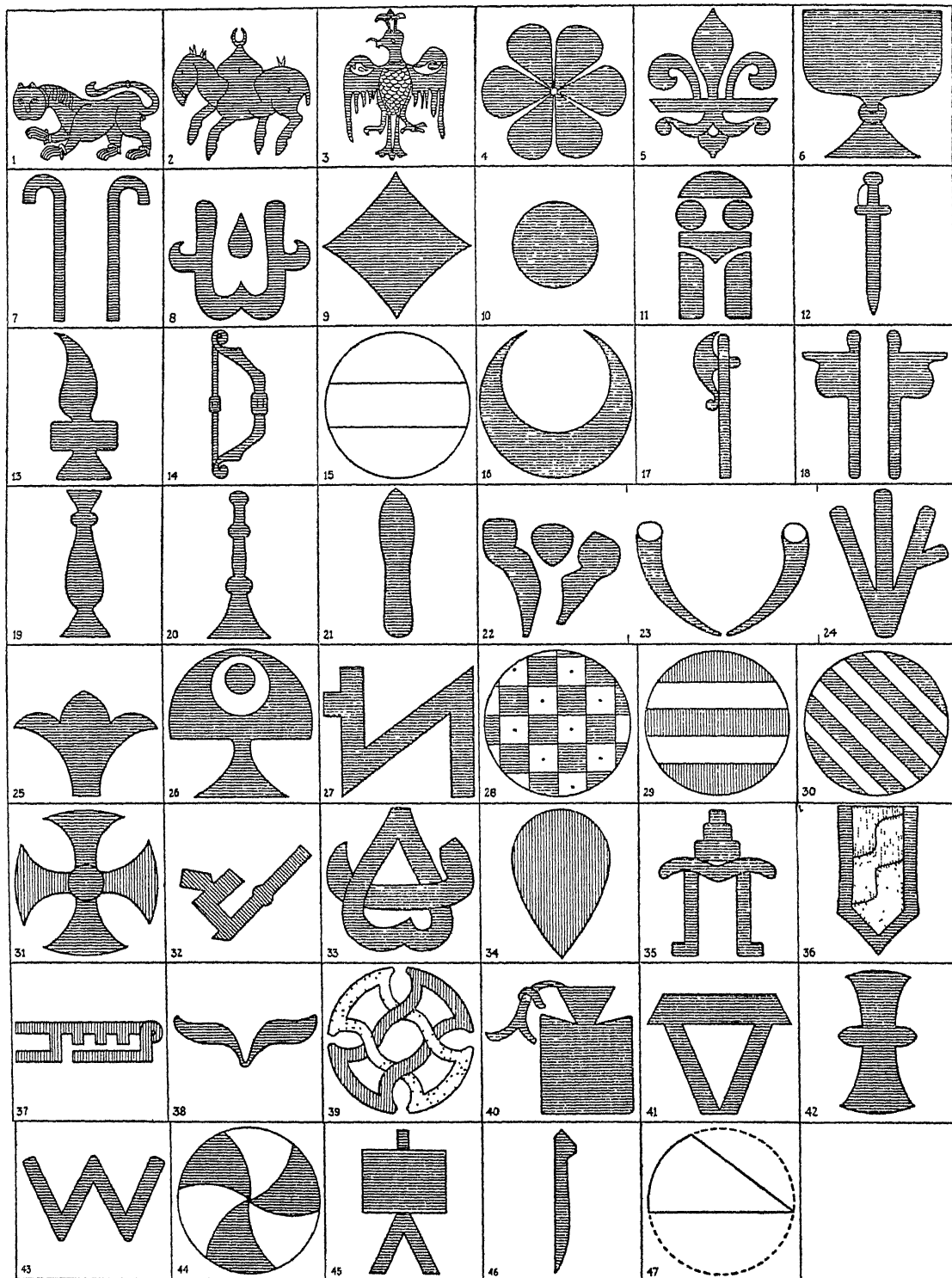
<sup>3</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, p. 270 ('Kalaūn bore a canting coat, the representation of his own name, a duck'); Gayet, *L'Art Arabe*, p. 281; Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 272, no. 1323 ('redende Personen- oder Staatswappen'); Artin Pasha, *Contribution*, p. 96, &c.; Karabacek, *Sarazenische Wappen*, p. 11; Max van Berchem used this word in a more general sense for symbols of office as well, *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 287, and so did Artin Pasha, 'Trois différentes armoiries de Kaīt Bay' (in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, no. 9, 1888, p. 74); *Quatre lampes*, pp. 78, 81.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Lamm for the information that the bottle, formerly in the collection of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, is now in the possession of Baron Édouard de Rothschild, Paris.

<sup>5</sup> *Amida*, p. 100, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> This translation of the word *bars* is given also in Houtsma's *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, pp. 11, 29 (of the Arabic text).

<sup>7</sup> I, p. 110, ll. 4-5.



SIMPLE CHARGES



unpublished plate of Jamāl ad-dīn Āqūsh, Governor of Kerak, whose name means what the shield implies, viz. a white bird. But whether it is a case in point, or a mere coincidence, and his badge is no more an *arme parlante* than the birds of prey of Ṭuquztamur, al-Baysarī, Bahādur al-Ḥamawī, or the lion of Yashbak the dawādār and perhaps of other powerful Bahrī amirs, I do not venture to decide; the chances are against it.

## ANIMALS

Contrary to European heraldic usage, the lion—or rather the feline animal which was meant to represent a lion and which was accordingly so called in literature—is comparatively rare in Saracenic armoury. If we mention it first among the three heraldic animals, it is only because it is one of the best-known blazons, being the emblem of Baybars. The lion of Baybars is by no means the oldest example known, the earliest datable example being that on the Ḥarrān gate at Urfa, built by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shihāb ad-dīn Ghāzī, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, who ruled over Urfa between 608 and 617 A.H. (1211/12–1220/1). The Saracenic heraldic lion is invariably represented in the act of walking, usually with his right forepaw raised (and in cases where he is seen walking to the left, with his left forepaw raised) and with his tail curled back. Very frequently the lion is depicted as playing with either an animal or a ball (the exact meaning of which has yet to be established), or accompanied by a figure. The lion appears on simple blazons only, with the exception of two coats of arms<sup>1</sup> consisting of two-fielded shields, of which the bottom one is bendy of 10 and 8 pieces respectively.

Among birds the eagle alone seems to be represented, although one would have expected the falcon to occur at least as often as the eagle.<sup>2</sup> The eagle is known in two varieties, the one-headed and the two-headed. Both varieties frequently show a lanceolate patch on their breasts which at times has the appearance of a gash; hence the description 'aigle éventré'. But more often it looks like a pear-shaped shield, and is probably meant to be an ornament only. The claws of the eagles are usually shown grasping the tips of the wings, thus

<sup>1</sup> Both on perfume sprays: one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, published in its *Bulletin*, Dec. 1910, p. 51, the other one in the possession of M. E. Paravicini, Zeitoun, near Cairo, cf. pl. I. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I a, p. 91, n. In the opinion of Dr. F. S. Bodenheimer, Research Fellow in Zoology at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, who was kind enough to look through my relevant photos, all these birds are eagles with the exception of pl. III, 6 (Potsherd no. 3854–4 of the Arabic Museum, Cairo), and pl. XV. (Āqūsh). Assuming that there are no mistakes of perspective, the short and broad head in conjunction with the short beak of the first bird would indicate a falcon rather than an eagle; as to the second, it might represent a griffin-vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*).

forming a horizontal—or almost horizontal—line strongly contrasting with the vertical axis formed by the eagle's head and tail. The eagle is either displayed with wings inverted, the head turned to the left or to the right, or as rising, with wings inverted and so addorsed that only one wing is visible. The eagle appears both on one, and on two-fielded shields, and at times without a shield; it is never found in conjunction with another animal, but is often depicted standing on some inanimate charge, such as a sword, cup, or napkin. In one case (pl. III, fig. 5) the sword is to the right of the eagle. The peculiar head-ornament on the head of the eagle of Muẓaffar ad-dīn Mūsā b. al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ (pl. XIV) should be noted.

I have not included in this chapter the horse encountered on Muslim heraldic shields, because to my mind the horse is only the supporter of the parade-saddle which, from a heraldic point of view, is all that matters.

As to Qalāūn's duck, Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's fishes, and the so-called antelope (on a large plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum), there is no reason whatever to believe that these animals ever had heraldic character.

#### SIGNS OF OFFICE

##### *The Cup*

In ascribing certain blazons to certain classes of court officers as definite signs of office, an attempt is made, in the following pages, to establish (a) that there were objects used as distinctive symbols to mark the office of some of the court officers,<sup>1</sup> (b) that these objects were identical with the charges found on blazons, (c) that the holders of these blazons actually were also holders of such offices, the evidence of which was found either in the corresponding titles mentioned in inscriptions accompanying the blazons, or in details gathered from biographical dictionaries and other historic literature. Such combined evidence is not always available, however, so that in some cases I had to be content with one or two points of evidence only. It seemed advisable, therefore, to summarize at the end of each chapter opinions differing from mine, and to bring forward other evidence obviously at variance with the theories here put forward. By this means the reader will be the better able to form an independent opinion.

When the theory explaining the Mamluk blazon as a symbol of office was first advanced,<sup>2</sup> the cup was one of the cases quoted. There was more of intuition

<sup>1</sup> This can be considered proved for six emblems by the passage from Abu-l-Fidā' quoted on p. 4, and for a seventh by *Manḥal*, s.v. Aybak, quoted on pp. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*, p. 66; Rogers, p. 102; Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, p. 271.

than of knowledge in this suggestion, as the inscriptions accompanying the actual examples did not contain any reference to the office of a cup-bearer, nor was any one of the holders of these blazons called 'cup-bearer' in the extracts quoted by the different Arab authors.<sup>1</sup> Yet despite this inadequate foundation the theory is right, and as the number of cup-bearers was greater than that of any other group of pages with special functions, the cup became one of the most frequently occurring blazons. Each of the following holders of simple blazons with a cup is styled 'cup-bearer' (*sāqī*) in the relevant inscriptions: Aṭunbughā al-Māridīnī,<sup>2</sup> Baighudamur as-Sāqī, Qauṣūn an-Nāṣirī, Ṭanbughā (Ṭaybughā) Ḥājī, Ṭurjī an-Nāṣirī, Ṭashtamur al-Badrī, Ṭughāytamur an-Nāṣirī, Ṭuquztamur, Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī.

About Aḥmad b. Baktamur as-Sāqī, Muḥammad b. Kitbughā, Ḥusain b. Qauṣūn, cf. chapter on Heredity, p. 40.

The following is known to have been a cup-bearer: Shaikh (later al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad); Tankizbughā was Superintendent of the Cellar; Kitbughā (later al-Malik al-'Ādil), Ṭāz an-Nāṣirī, Yalbughā al-'Umarī, and Tankiz an-Nāṣirī served in the corps of the pages (*ḡbāṣṣakī*), from among the ranks of which the cup-bearers were occasionally recruited.

Of the following I know nothing: 'Alī b. Aḥmad, Aljāy, Arghūnshāh, Aydamur al-Ānūkī, Baktūmān, Ishiqtamur al-Māridīnī, Khālīd, Mubārak aṣ-Ṣālīhī, Muḥammad al-Khāzindār, Shaikhū, Ṭānyaraq, Jamāl ad-dīn al-Muẓaffarī.

Karabacek's theory that the cup is not a mark of office but a chalice of knighthood (*ḡa's al-futuwwa*) and together with the trousers of knighthood (*sarāwīl al-futuwwa*) forms a general symbol of nobility,<sup>3</sup> should not be altogether ignored. The flaw in this hypothesis is obvious: Karabacek assumed that for heraldic purposes there is no difference between a cup-bearer (*sāqī*) and a taster (*jāshnigīr*), whereas the inscriptions and biographies prove that there was a difference, and that the two emblems were never interchanged. To support his theory, Karabacek promised to describe the ceremony of the investiture on the basis of literary sources and unknown contemporary pictorial material, a promise he never kept.

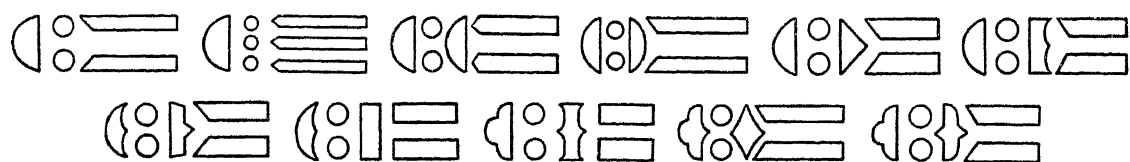
<sup>1</sup> Rogers, pp. 123-4, gives only one—very unhappily chosen—instance, viz. Aṭunbughā al-Māridīnī, who was a cup-bearer. But the blazon referred to belonged, as the accompanying inscription proves, to 'Alī al-Māridīnī, who was a master of the robes (*jamdār*).

<sup>2</sup> For the biographies of the amirs enumerated here and in the following chapters, and for the description of their shields and the inscriptions accompanying them, see *The Roll*, s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, p. 5; *Ein damascenischer Leuchter*, p. 276, n. 27; *Sarazenische Wappen*, p. 24.

*Pen-Box*

Abu-l-Fidā'’s list of emblems used by various officers begins with the pen-box of the pen-box holder (*dawādār*), a secretary of lower rank at court. Although the ceremonial pen-box was probably subject to less variation of style than the ordinary one, we have a number of shapes preserved. The typical pen-box consists of four elements: the first, containing the ink-pot, the second the sand-pot and the starch paste-pot, the third a receptacle for thread (for cleaning pens), the fourth two or three receptacles for reeds. The main types are as follows:



In inscriptions accompanying simple blazons with this device, the holders were usually called *dawādārs*, e.g. Quṭlūbughā, Sīdī Aḥmad, Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī, or else they are known to have been *dawādārs*, e.g. Jurjī an-Nāṣirī. The holders of composite blazons consisting of pen-box and cup only, were with few exceptions known as *dawādārs*, although it is doubtful whether they have served as *junior dawādārs*: Jaqmaq, Muqbil, Ṭughāytamur, Yūnus.

The pen-box was the main component of two very common types of composite blazons, one of which consisted of a napkin on the upper and lower fields and a pen-box on the middle field, and the other of a napkin on the upper, of a cup placed between a pair of ‘trousers of nobility’ and charged with a pen-box on the middle, and of a cup on the lower field.

The pen-box was regarded in the past as the hieroglyphic sign ‘Ra neb teta’, translated as ‘Sun, master of the two horizons’ by Rogers,<sup>1</sup> Artin,<sup>2</sup> Lane-Poole,<sup>3</sup> Karabacek.<sup>4</sup> Gayet<sup>5</sup> and Herz<sup>6</sup> accepted this theory, although neither could see

<sup>1</sup> *Le Blason*, p. 102 f.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Trois différentes armoiries de Kaït Bay’, p. 70 f. Later, Artin Pasha consulted G. Maspero, who read the sign as ‘Ra-nib-taoui’ and translated it as ‘Soleil maître des deux terres’, *Contribution*, p. 112. In 1906, Artin Pasha described the pen-box as ‘les signes dits hiéroglyphiques’, ‘Les Armes de l’Égypte aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles’ (in *BIE.*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, No. 7, 1906, p. 87).

<sup>3</sup> *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, p. 88 f. On the advice of Prof. Junker, Karabacek considered this emblem as an erroneous combination of two groups of hieroglyphic signs meaning ‘Son of Re, Lord of the two Lands’.

<sup>5</sup> *L’Art Arabe*, p. 280 f.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Deux lampes en verre émaillé de l’Émir Toghaitimor’ (in *BIE.*, 5<sup>e</sup> série, t. 1, 1907 (publ. June 1908), pp. 181–7).

how the Mamluks could have understood the meaning of these signs. Other scholars, such as van Berchem,<sup>1</sup> Watzinger and Wulzinger,<sup>2</sup> hesitated to accept this explanation, but were unable themselves to suggest a more plausible theory. It was only in November, 1918, that the late 'Abdal-Ḥamīd Muṣṭafā Pasha proved in a lecture delivered at the Institut d'Égypte that this emblem represents the pen-box. His paper having been lost was never published. Fortunately, Mrs. H. Devonshire wrote an abstract of the lecture for the *Burlington Magazine*,<sup>3</sup> thus saving for archaeology one of the soundest theories yet put forward on the subject of Saracenic heraldry.

### *Sword*

The second item in Abu-l-Fidā' 's list is the cross-bow, the emblem of the armour-bearer (*silāḥdār*). This statement presents a difficulty of its own. In making a list of all the armour-bearers whose blazons are known to us, we find that—with two exceptions<sup>4</sup>—all those who had simple blazons, invariably displayed on their shields a scimitar, a sword or a pair of swords instead of a cross-bow. The list is as follows:<sup>5</sup> \*Āqūsh al-Afram, Asandamur, \*Aṣlam, \*Bahādur al-Badrī, Malaktimur as-Silāḥdār, \*Manjak al-Yūsufī as-Silāḥdār, \*Qijlīs an-Nāṣirī, Ṭughāydamur as-Silāḥdār. This excludes amirs who displayed swords on their shields, but whose biographies, so far as I have been able to trace them, contain no reference to their early career, and thus leave it doubtful if they were ever armour-bearers.

In the light of this list it would seem as though Abu-l-Fidā' 's statement must be explained as meaning that the emblem of armour-bearers in general was a weapon, as an example of which—for unknown reasons—he cites the cross-bow only, though the sword and the dagger could equally well be used as emblems.

### *Bow*

According to Abu-l-Fidā', the bow was the device of the armour-bearer; but the evidence of the inscription shows that one bow at least belonged to

<sup>1</sup> *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 288, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. their description of this emblem in *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, pp. 51, 66, and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sultan Salāh ed-Dīn's Writing-Box in the National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo*, XXXV (December, 1919), 241-5.

<sup>4</sup> Lājīn for a time *silāḥdār* had a three-fielded shield as blazon and Bahādur Āṣ a rosette.

<sup>5</sup> Those known from literature to have been armour-bearers are marked with an asterisk; the others are styled so in the accompanying inscription.

the bowman (*bunduqdār*) who was of the same rank as the armour-bearer (*silāḥdār*). The emblem referred to appears on the lamp of 'Alā' ad-dīn Ayda-kīn al-Bunduqdār and consists of two bows addorsed. In the only other case in which this blazon is accompanied by an inscription, it appears in a modified form as a bow with two arrows. The name of its holder, Baktamur, without any indication of his office, provenance, or nickname, does not give us any clue. There were several amirs of this name, and although one of them was armour-bearer,<sup>1</sup> I do not think it advisable, in the absence of any other indication, to identify him, without reservation, with the holder of our blazon.

### *Napkin*

The fourth in Abu-l-Fidā's list is the napkin (*buqja*)<sup>2</sup> worn by the master of the robes (*jamdār*). A *buqja*, according to native dictionaries, was a piece of cloth<sup>3</sup> in which clothes, chancery deeds, &c., were wrapped up. The normal shape of such a napkin being either square or oblong,<sup>4</sup> there was only one blazon which seemed to answer the description, viz. the rhomb, which appears on a good many heraldic shields. The question whether the rhomb is identical with the *buqja* worn by the *jamdārs* may be answered in the affirmative in view of the following list of amirs whose simple blazon consisted of this emblem only; those known from literature to have been *jamdārs* are again marked with an asterisk: \*Širghitmish al-*jamdār*, \*Āqbughā min 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-*jamdār*, Arghūn al-'Alā'ī *ra's naubat al-jamdāriyyah*, Aydamur al-Qaimarī al-*jamdār*, Mankuwīrish al-Fāruqānī al-*jamdār*.

It should be noted that Bahādur al-Ḥamawī, whose blazon consisted of an eagle above a *buqja*, is styled in the accompanying inscription *ra's naubat al-jamdāriyyah*.

In the past the *buqja* was misunderstood by Rogers,<sup>5</sup> who called it in European fashion, 'losange'; by Artin Pasha, who, for no apparent reason at all,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ibn Iyās, index; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 294-5, 298; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 88<sup>v</sup>) and Armorial Roll, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske had it in his edition as أَقْجَا and consequently could not understand it; and the same form was repeated in the Constantinople edition. The correct text was given by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *La Syrie*, p. xcii, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Quatremère was the first European author to establish this meaning, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I b, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. H. Devonshire had the kindness to call my attention to a square piece of cloth in the Arabic Museum, Cairo, called in the registers 'buqja', which shows that the original meaning of the word was not yet obsolete some fifty years ago.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Blason*, p. 115 and *passim*; also by Lavoix, *Collection Albert Goupil*, p. 303.

called it successively 'losange',<sup>1</sup> 'dé',<sup>2</sup> and 'cachet';<sup>3</sup> by Cordier who called it 'étoile';<sup>4</sup> by Herz, who saw in it the *ḵbānjā*, 'la petite table de sommelier',<sup>5</sup> 'la tablette',<sup>6</sup> by Wulzinger and Watzinger who described it as 'Raute';<sup>7</sup> by the present writer who called it 'rhomb',<sup>8</sup> and by others who accepted one or the other of these appellations.

### Table

Apart from the passage from Abu-l-Fidā', our knowledge is derived from still another source and one which dealing, as it does, directly with a Syro-Egyptian amir states even more clearly that the Saracenic blazon pointed to the office held by its owner, namely the very frequently quoted statement that when al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-dīn dubbed Aybak an amir, he gave him the figure of a *ḵbānjā* as heraldic emblem. The question to be determined is what was a *ḵbānjā* and what did it look like? The passages collected by Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I a, p. 2, n. 4, and Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.,<sup>9</sup> which can easily be augmented by others, clearly indicate that the *ḵbānjā* was a small table, and this translation was almost universally accepted.<sup>10</sup> Most writers refrained from saying anything about its form, and of those who did express an opinion, no two are in accord. Taking as a starting-point medieval miniatures depicting Saracenic tables,<sup>11</sup> we find that the tables consist of large round plates, sometimes with, sometimes without, a support. We have to look, therefore, for round disks as a proper representation of the *ḵbānjā*. To this may be added the evidence of a passage in Maqrizī's *Khitaṭ* (II. 72 l. ult., 2nd ed., III. 117, l. 5 b),<sup>12</sup> where plates (*aṭbāq*) and tables (*ḵbānjāt*) are mentioned together and appear almost synonymous.

Martin<sup>13</sup> attributed a bowl (formerly in the possession of Prof. Sarre and now

<sup>1</sup> 'Trois différentes armoiries de Kaït Bay' (in *BIE.*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, No. 9, 1888, p. 73); 'Un Sabre de l'Émir Ezbek el Yussufi el Zahery' (in *BIE.*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, No. 9, 1898, pp. 249, 253). In the latter article, p. 249, Artin Pasha described a carelessly drawn napkin as 'une sorte de vase fermé'.

<sup>2</sup> *Contribution*, p. 104 f.

<sup>3</sup> 'Les Armes de l'Égypte aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles' (*BIE.* 1906, p. 87); 'Nouvelles preuves concernant la signification du meuble "cachet" dans les armoiries orientales' (in *BIE.*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, No. 7, 1906, pp. 101 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> 'La Collection Charles Schefer' (in *GBA*, 3<sup>e</sup> pér., t. xx, 1898, p. 254).

<sup>5</sup> 'Le bain de l'Émir Bechtak' (*BIE.* 1904, p. 33), although no Muslim author called Bashtāk a taster.

<sup>6</sup> *CR.* 1909 (1910), p. 162; *CR.* 1911 (1912), p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> 'Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza II' (in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, V, 1925, p. 68).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. particularly Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, IV. 69: مائدة نحاس يسمنونها حَوَاجَةً ويجعل عليها طبق نحاس يسمنونه الطالام

<sup>10</sup> With apparently the sole exception of Gaudefroy-Demombynes, who thought it was a chalice, *La Syrie*, p. lxi, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pl. XVIII a.

<sup>12</sup> I am much obliged to Prof. Wiet, who called my attention to this passage.

<sup>13</sup> *Ältere Kupferarbeiten*, pl. II and III.

in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin) to Aybak, obviously by identifying its blazon (see pl. LII. 2) with the *ḵhānjā*. For the same reason Herz Bey called the napkin 'la petite table de sommelier'<sup>1</sup> and 'tablette',<sup>2</sup> and Artin Pasha<sup>3</sup> took an otherwise unique emblem, which in his design looks like the section of a stand for a tray, to be a *ḵhānjā*.

Disks appear only on two simple blazons, namely on those of Aybak al-Mauṣilī and Baktūt al-Qaramānī. Unfortunately, no details concerning Aybak's early career are to be found in any of his biographies,<sup>4</sup> but Baktūt al-Qaramānī, in an inscription in Cairo, is called a taster (*jāshnigīr*),<sup>5</sup> the very office we should expect him to have held.

Artin Pasha, who knew this blazon only from potsherds, described it as a target ('cible').<sup>6</sup>

### *Polo-sticks*

Not all the known charges have been mentioned by Muslim historians. Among those not mentioned is the polo-stick (*jūkān*)<sup>7</sup> of the polo-master (*jūkandār*), a well-known officer at court. The blazon was recognized as such by Rogers (pp. 102, 124) and never disputed. There are five simple blazons with polo-sticks and historical texts. They belonged to the following persons: Almalik, Qarāsunqur, Altunbughā, Aydamur, Qāzān, Qumarī, and Quṭlū Khātūn. The first two are called *jūkandār* in the relevant texts. Quṭlū Khātūn was the daughter of Bahādūr, the polo-master, and may have been the wife of Ṭurunṭāy, the polo-master,<sup>8</sup> both known to have been such from inscriptions and historical texts. Qumarī is one of the several of that name whose biography cannot be established because of the lack of distinguishing detail in the inscriptions. Only Qāzān is called *jamdār* and Aydamur *ḡardkash*. But, as we have seen, the *jamdār* had a different blazon altogether, so that Qāzān represents, in any case, an exception to the rule.

It was suggested by van Berchem<sup>9</sup> that the badge of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, an emblem of peculiar shape on the window of the mausoleum of Baraka

<sup>1</sup> BIE. 1904, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> CR. 1909 (1910), p. 162; CR. 1911 (1912), p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Contribution, p. 180 f., fig. 309.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Armorial Roll s.v. Aybak of Mosul and literature there quoted.

<sup>5</sup> CR. 1910, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> Contribution, p. 134, Nos. 212-19, 242-7.

<sup>7</sup> On the point of whether the *jūkān* is a polo-stick or a racket see CIA. Jérusalem, Ville, p. 268. It seems to me that the pictorial evidence is decidedly in favour of its being called polo-stick. In the fifteenth century there was no difference between the two, cf. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V, p. 458, l. 3.

<sup>8</sup> L. A. Mayer, 'Inscriptions of Gaza I' (in JPOS. III, 1923, p. 78).

<sup>9</sup> CIA. Jérusalem, Ville, p. 195.



Khān, at Jerusalem (pl. XL. 2), also represents polo-sticks. In the absence of any biographical data concerning the holder of this blazon, it is impossible to decide the point. Van Berchem's view is mentioned, however, as a possible hypothesis, although the emblem might, with equal justification, be considered not as a variant of the polo-sticks, but as one standing in a class by itself, the pear-shaped object in the middle possibly representing a drum (cf. Emblem No. 22).

### *Fesse*

A three-fielded shield without any emblem occurs several times as blazon of the Bahri mamluks, especially of some of those who in the second half of the thirteenth century were elevated to the rank of amir. It was worn by the Sultan Lājīn and the amirs Salār, 'Alā' ad-dīn al-Barīdī, Arghūn an-Nāṣirī, Kuĵkun, Baktamur al-Ḥusāmī, and Ibrahīm b. Baktamur al-Ḥusāmī.

In view of the early date of this blazon it seems obvious that the disk divided into three horizontal bands is in itself the emblem displayed, as it were, on an undivided round shield, and the question to be decided is what object it was meant to represent. Among the insignia of officers of low rank the emblem of the dispatch-rider (*barīdī*) suggests itself at once, consisting, as it does, of a small plate of copper or silver inscribed on one side with the creed formula and a verse from the Qur'ān (IX. 33) and on the other with the name and titles of the sultan.<sup>1</sup> The text is almost identical with those found on the inscribed shields, which, as we shall see later (cf. p. 34f.), consisted of round shields divided into three horizontal bars. Of the seven persons mentioned above, 'Alā' ad-dīn was styled *barīdī* in the accompanying inscription and Salār in a literary text.<sup>2</sup> The early offices of the others are not known.

### *Ceremonial Saddle*

The last among the devices mentioned by Abu-l-Fidā' as having been used as emblems by amirs is a 'dome' (*qubbah*) in connexion with which several Mamluk blazons may be interpreted. There is the one called 'target' which might be mistaken for the outlines of a dome, there is the blazon on a bowl, pl. LII, No. 2, which could be interpreted as the entrance to a tent,<sup>3</sup> and there is a sort of

<sup>1</sup> Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, II b, 88; *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā*, XIV, p. 371; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Quatremère, l.c. II b, p. 41.




<sup>3</sup> One might be induced to assume this from M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes' translation of *qubbah* as *tente ronde*, *La Syrie*, p. xcii, n. 2.

palanquin or state saddle on a horse which we meet with on seven occasions:<sup>1</sup>

1. On a basin in the possession of Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Cyprus.
2. On two medallions sculptured over the entrance gate of the Khān al-'Asal near Aleppo.
3. On a glass lamp once in the possession of the late Baron G. de Rothschild, Paris (Brocart's replica of it is now in the British Museum).
4. On a coin in the Government Museum, Jerusalem, pl. XX, 3.
5. On a stone basin in the Municipal Museum of Beyrouth.
6. On a potsherd in the Arabic Museum, Cairo.
7. On a potsherd in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

As none of these represents a *qubbah* in the ordinary sense of the word, we have to assume it to be a dome-shaped palanquin (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). The only help towards identifying the blazon is the statement by Abu-l-Fidā' that it was the emblem of a *jāwīsh*. The so-called target is not a sign of office, but either the head of a banner or a tamgha. The function of the amir for whom Sarre's bowl was made is not ascertainable, and the last four objects of the third group are anonymous. Therefore the only indications are the inscriptions accompanying 1, 2, and 3. The first of these, which gives the title of al-Manṣūrī al-Malikī al-Ashrafī is for all practical purposes anonymous; the second and third give names of the *ḥājibs* Sharaf ad-dīn Mūsā, and Baktamur (or his son 'Alī) whose previous career is unknown.

#### TAMGHA

Several blazons which are neither armes parlantes nor signs of office nor animalic symbols can be identified with Mongolian tamghas. In his *Contribution*<sup>2</sup> Artin Pasha devoted a chapter to tamghas, mistaking cups,<sup>3</sup> trumpets,<sup>4</sup> and napkins<sup>5</sup> for tamghas, confusing the tamghas with a wasm and unable to identify either of them with the heraldic emblems discussed in his book. Among the tamghas of princes depicted in the MS. Leiden Or. 419 W.<sup>6</sup> (*Cat. Cod. Orient.* III. 24 sq., No. 942, fo. 15 b ff.) several show a striking resemblance to some otherwise unexplainable Mamluk blazons, thus  (fo. 15 b, 16 b) to the so-called target<sup>7</sup> (Embl. 26), the  (fo. 17 b) to the  (Embl. 24), the

<sup>1</sup> So far as my knowledge goes these seven objects are here discussed for the first time. Thus there is no previous interpretation of them to be considered.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Wasm*, pp. 182-220.












<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 198, No. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 198, No. 312.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 121, No. 92.

<sup>6</sup> Pls. L, LI.

<sup>7</sup> But cf. previous chapter p. 18, l. 15.

 (fo. 16 a),  (fo. 17 a),  (fo. 16 a), and  (fo. 18 a) to   
 (Embl. 43), the  (fo. 17 a) to the  (Embl. 27), the  (fo. 16 a) and   
 (fo. 18 a) to the  (Embl. 32), and the  to a particular form of the fleur-de-lis (Embl. 25). In view of an explicit passage in Abu-l-Fidā' bow and arrows (fo. 17 b) found among tamghas had better be considered as signs of office only. This suggestion may seem merely to transpose the unknown quantities of the equation, the meaning of the various tamghas being just as obscure as that of those Mamluk blazons to which some of the tamghas show such a striking resemblance.

Among the forty-seven heraldic emblems (p. 8), whose existence we have been able to establish there are some that cannot be scientifically classed in any of the groups dealt with in the previous pages, being neither animals nor marks of office, nor yet tamghas. Although some of them may be, and probably actually are, marks of office, it would be futile, in the absence of inscriptions with sufficiently clear indications and other literary evidence, to try to guess at their exact meaning, and I propose, therefore, to register them here without comment. They are: the fleur-de-lis, the crescent, the rosette, the bend, the 'horns' or 'trousers of nobility', the battle-axe, the cross, the 'gate', the chess-board, the bars, the key, and twelve other emblems that are more easily drawn than described: Nos. 33, 34, 36, 38-42, 44-7.

### *Horns or Trousers of Nobility*

For the consideration of this emblem we have no reliable guides in either Abu-l-Fidā' or any other Mamluk historian. The figure does not recall any of the devices mentioned in Arabic literature and is the first of a series of badges which have to be interpreted without the aid of any contemporary literature. We are forced to guess both at the objects they represent and at their meaning. This method, so frequently employed by previous writers, is the origin of most of the mistakes made in the past.

Since the emblem vaguely resembles the classical and Byzantine cornucopiae, it has been so identified by the majority of writers,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, l.c. No. 13, p. 119 ('corne d'abondance'); Artin, *Trois différentes armoiries de Kaït Bay*, p. 71 ('cornes'), p. 73 ('cornets'); Kay, 'Arabic Inscriptions in Egypt' (in *JRAS*, 1896, p. 147) ('cornucopiae (?)'). According to Artin Pasha, 'Un Sabre de l'Émir Ezbek El Yussufi El Zahery', *BIE*. 1898, p. 259, the cornucopiae 'indiqueraient en langage héraldique oriental la souveraineté'. I have vainly

the fact that cornucopiae appear nowhere else in Muḥammadan symbolism.<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld was the first to reject the identification. In his description of the blazon of Khāirbak he called it ostrich feathers.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to adopt his theory, since the barbs of ostrich feathers are almost of the same width till they end abruptly, leaving the quill only, whereas our emblem is invariably designed with wide top which, in a more or less graceful curve, gradually narrows down to a point.

In discussing this problem four facts should be borne in mind:

- (1) that the emblem always appears paired;
- (2) that the object represented is hollow;<sup>3</sup>

tried to find the source of this statement. As an heraldic emblem they appear only on shields of amirs, never on shields of sultans.

<sup>1</sup> Excluding, of course, works of artists belonging to other civilizations, such as the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmed Djemal Pacha, *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien*, Berlin 1918, Mausoleum of Khāirbak in Aleppo, pl. XLVI.

Prof. Herzfeld, whom I asked for his reasons for calling the emblem under discussion ostrich feathers, very kindly sent me the following note in a letter dated 14th December 1928:

'From its form alone, the object in question is difficult to place. The manner of application of the two leaf-like designs to the base of the vases or cups is the same as that found in the vine and acanthus decorations used in the bases of vases in eastern Hellenistic, Sassanian, and Islamic ornamentation. Cf. e.g., the pillars of Akka, the capital of Bisutun (Sam. Malereien, fig. 9), the silver object published by Smirnov, &c.

'It seems, therefore, that the object is partly ornamental, and that it is a highly conventionalized and not a true representation of the original. One thing is certain: as some of these coats of arms are of Egyptian origin, I have taken the object under discussion to be also of Egyptian origin and I identify it as the ostrich feathers so commonly met with in ancient Egyptian decorations. Thus, for instance, they were used in crowns, in some cases in side view, in others in front view, but always in pairs (figure). Feathers, moreover, both ostrich and peacock, eventually also came to be used in occidental heraldry. There is a theory or a tradition in western heraldry that peacock feathers in old armorial bearings indicate participation in the crusades. One of my own friends, a Herr v. Behr, whom I used to know in the days of my childhood, had such feathers in his coat of arms.

'I believe, therefore, that feathers—especially ostrich feathers—should be found in Mamluk arms. I am unable to trace a sufficiently clear resemblance to cornucopiae to warrant this explanation being given preference.'

In support of Prof. Herzfeld's theory, the blazon of Khāirbak, painted on the iron gate of his caravan-serai in Aleppo, could be quoted. It shows a herring-bone pattern, very similar to a crude design of the feathers of a quill. But it is by no means likely that the painting is contemporary with the construction of the khan. If it were an Ottoman addition, it would have no value at all.

Another point in favour of Prof. Herzfeld's theory is that ostrich feathers on helmets, at least as depicted on some miniatures, do sometimes curve, cf. Blochet, *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux—turcs, arabes, persans—de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1926, pls. XXIa, XLIII, and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> That the artist's intention was to depict a hollow object becomes evident when comparing it with Roman and Byzantine representations of hollow objects. We find there the same disks of different colours at the openings of horns, pipes, &c., which characterize both components of our emblem, which often look like balls.

- (3) that it appears for the first time on composite blazons of the second half of the fifteenth century;
- (4) that it does not resemble any badge described in Arabic literature as symbol of office.

Although the first of these facts does not exclude such explanations as horns or feathers, it makes them rather improbable; the second excludes feathers, and the last two make it more than probable that it is not a symbol of office.

I venture to suggest that we have here the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa*, the trousers of nobility. It is not the first time that a Muslim badge has been identified as a pair of trousers. Since the author of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* saw on the banner of Taqī ad-dīn 'Umar, Saladin's nephew, a pair of breeches (*baneriam insignitam miro genere distinctionis, scilicet incisarum schemate braccarum*), his statement has been accepted by many writers on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Among modern orientalists Karabacek in particular believed that 'the trousers of nobility' were a common badge and that Saracenic knights were entitled to display them on their shields together with the cup which, according to Karabacek, was another symbol of nobility.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to say what particular emblem Karabacek had in mind when writing these statements; he described only one blazon consisting of 'trousers, above them a chalice, with the personal badge, a ram en face, underneath', and all that on a helmet of the twelfth century! It is unfortunate that the collection of Count Alexander von Warsberg, to whom the helmet belonged, has been dispersed and that there is no trace of it in any other museum known to me.

But whatever this enigmatic blazon with the two unknown quantities may have been, the suggested solution has in its favour that the 'sarāwīl' are not a symbol of office, that they appear in the time of the Circassian Mamluks when so many other emblems originally royal or meaningless as symbols of office enter into the composite blazons, that they appear naturally in pairs<sup>3</sup> and,

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, London 1864, p. 272 f.; Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Leipzig 1826, IV. 416, n. 85; Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Ein damascenischer Leuchter*, p. 276, n. 27; *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, p. 5. This statement has been accepted by Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. futuwwa, very cautiously reproduced by Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, p. 217, and lastly by Björkman, s.v. sirwāl, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām* (Engl. ed. fasc. H, p. 452).

<sup>3</sup> It may be objected that on the blazon of Qānṣūh al-Yaḥyāwī there is only one-half of the pair of trousers; but it seems to me much more probable that we have to deal in this case with another device, namely the one visible on both sides of the chalice on the middle field of Uzbek's blazon, which cannot be identical with the 'trousers of nobility', as the latter are represented in a very different way on the upper field of his badge.

finally, that they have more resemblance to a pair of oriental trousers than to anything else to be taken into consideration.

### *Fleur-de-lis*

The fleur-de-lis appears for the first time in Muslim heraldry as the blazon of Nūr ad-dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī, the atābak. We find it on two monuments closely connected with Nūr ad-dīn: over the mihrāb of his madrasah in Damascus (pl. XIX. 1), built between 549 and 569 (1154-1173),<sup>1</sup> and on two columns of the minbar of the Main Mosque at Hims, here alternating with a rosette (pl. XIX. 3). Other datable examples of the fleur-de-lis are a copper coin of the Ayyubid al-Malik az-Zāhir Ghiyāth ad-dīn Ghāzī b. al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf,<sup>2</sup> without indication of mint or date, but struck some time between 582 and 613 (1186-1216), probably in Aleppo, and a dirham of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Saif ad-dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb<sup>3</sup> struck in Damascus between 605 and 610 (1208/9-1213/14). The frequent occurrence of the fleur-de-lis on Ayyubid coins, although by no means always of heraldic character, shows that it must have meant more to them than any other ordinary emblem. It continued to appear on some of the Mamluk coins, e.g. on copper coins of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājī, struck in Aleppo,<sup>4</sup> al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764 A.H. Hama),<sup>5</sup> al-Manṣūr ʿAlī (Tripoli,<sup>6</sup> Damascus),<sup>7</sup> and al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājī (Tripoli).<sup>8</sup> The fleur-de-lis appears also on coins of Barqūq<sup>9</sup> (Tripoli,<sup>10</sup> 797 A.H. Damascus),<sup>11</sup> al-Malik az-Zāhir Khushqadam<sup>12</sup> and al-Ashraf Qāytbāy,<sup>13</sup> but as other

<sup>1</sup> Creswell, 'The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas' (in *BIFAO*. t. XXI, 1923, p. 27).

<sup>2</sup> *BM*. IV. 86, No. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 99, No. 364 (n.d.); cf. also p. 97, No. 358 (605 A.H.). In both cases below the inscriptions and not heraldic. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. Égypte et Syrie, Paris 1896, p. 225 f., No. 590 (610 A.H.).

<sup>4</sup> Lavoix, l.c., p. 356 f., Nos. 870, 871, and in an uncertain mint Nos. 873-5 (pl. VII), all of these without date.

<sup>5</sup> Lane-Poole, l.c. *Additions*, I-IV, p. 362, No. 606 q, pl. XIX; Lavoix, l.c., p. 375, No. 908.

<sup>6</sup> Lavoix, p. 387 f., Nos. 930-4 (pl. VIII), without dates.

<sup>7</sup> Date much obliterated, obviously [78]3, in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Probably identical with Lavoix, p. 385, No. 927, pl. VIII.

<sup>8</sup> Without date, in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

<sup>9</sup> Without mint or date, in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, another type Lavoix, p. 409 f., Nos. 967-9, pl. IX.

<sup>10</sup> Without date, in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

<sup>11</sup> *BM*. IV, p. 196 f., Nos. 633-4 ('ornament resembling fleur-de-lis').

<sup>12</sup> The following references are given with all reservations; on the coin Lavoix, No. 1070, p. 462, reproduced on pl. X, there is no trace of a fleur-de-lis despite the author's assertion to the contrary. Dinars struck in Cairo, Lavoix, p. 463 f., Nos. 1072-4. On others, most probably not heraldic, without mints, one of which was struck in 866 (1461/2), Lavoix, p. 466 f., Nos. 1077, 1078, and on a dirham *ib.*, p. 467, No. 1079, struck in Cairo in 866.

<sup>13</sup> Dirham struck in Cairo, Lavoix, p. 471, No. 1084.

coins of the last-named sultans show a number of other emblems, it is very doubtful whether these are blazons at all. About the middle of the eighth century of the Hijra, the fleur-de-lis appears also as an amirial device. We find it for the first time on the lamp of the wazir Maḥmūd b. 'Alī b. Shirwīn, now at Edinburgh, probably made in 747 (1346/7). In a waqf text dated second decade of Rabī' II 784 (24th June–3rd July 1382) built into the walls of a ruined mosque in Damascus, there is a fleur-de-lis on the lower section of a two-fielded shield worn by Shihāb ad-dīn Ḥaidar al-'Askarī, a dignitary of the *janāb* class. Two generations later we find it again on either side of an inscription over the Zāwiya Mawlawiyya in Hims<sup>1</sup> dated Muḥarram 841 (5th July–3rd August 1437). The last dated example, an ornament and not a coat of arms, is the one on a door-knocker of the Madrasa Khidriyya, made in 878 (1473) by the Chief Qāḍī Quṭb ad-dīn b. al-Khidrī.<sup>2</sup>

In composite blazons we find it always on the lowest fields: on the blazon of Saif ad-dīn Aynāl al-'Alā'ī, later Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, on an inscription in the Kātib al-Wilāyah mosque in Gaza, dated 835 (1431/2), on a bowl made for Barsbāy ash-Sharafī, on two dishes, one of Jānībak, the second with the name obliterated,<sup>3</sup> all three of them probably dating from the third quarter of the ninth (fifteenth) century.

'Few figures have puzzled the antiquary so much as the fleur-de-lis. Countless origins have been suggested for it', says Fox-Davies, who concludes that 'to France and the arms of France one must turn for the origin of the heraldic use of the fleur-de-lis'.<sup>4</sup> This conclusion, however, will hardly withstand criticism, and that for the following reason: Although the fleur-de-lis, presumably as a mere meaningless form of decoration, is found in use long before the days of armoury in Europe or in Asia, the essential difference is that in the pre-heraldic form of the Western fleur-de-lis the three elements are connected, growing as it were from one stem, whereas the definitely established heraldic form, as seen in the arms of Louis VII, consists of three separate leaves held together in the middle by a band. In the East, all early forms of the fleur-de-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Armorial Roll, s.v. Aḥmad b. Isma'īl al-Kūjukī.

<sup>2</sup> E. de Lorey, 'Quelques monuments arabes de Damas' (in *Actes du Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 26 Septembre–5 Octobre 1921, I, troisième section, p. 314, pl. 16, fig. 2), Paris 1923.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Massignon, 'Six plats de bronze de style mamelouk', *BIFAO*. t. X, No. 3, p. 10, pl. III. The drawing gives the impression of the emblem being a kind of serpent, but on close examination of the plate itself, which its owner, Professor Massignon, very kindly placed at my disposal, I was able to ascertain that it was originally a fleur-de-lis.

<sup>4</sup> *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 2nd ed., London 1925, p. 272 f.

lis, whether merely decorative or heraldic, are of the latter type, namely, with three separate leaves. Thus we find it on an Egyptian seal cylinder of Rameses III,<sup>1</sup> discovered at Baisan, in Samarra, as a wall decoration,<sup>2</sup> and on fragments of Fustāt pottery. The early European type of the fleur-de-lis (with connected leaves) appears in the East only during the second half of the fourteenth century, the first datable example being on coins of Barqūq. There is not a single case, either on Mamluk coins or on any objects of art, where an early specimen of this form of the fleur-de-lis is of an indisputably heraldic character. The only permissible conclusion, therefore, would seem to be that the true heraldic form of the fleur-de-lis is of Saracenic origin.

### *Bend*

An undivided shield, bendy of seven pieces, occurs once, superimposed on the shield of Ibrāhīm b. Baktamur al-Ḥusāmī, and cannot, therefore, be of earlier date than 700 A.H. (1300). But bends usually appear only on the lower field of two-fielded shields and as such seem to have been a family emblem of the Hama branch of the Ayyubids. Abu-l-Fidā's round shield was two-fielded, with the upper field either self-coloured<sup>3</sup> or of unknown colour and the lower bendy of a varying number of pieces. That of Nūr ad-dīn b. 'Imād ad-dīn<sup>4</sup> (who, it would appear, was a great-grandson of Abu-l-Fidā) is very similar, except that the shield, as shown on an inscription in Abu-l-Fidā's mosque at Hama, is pointed and the lower field is bendy of five pieces. On two perfume-sprays, one in the possession of M. E. Paravacini,<sup>5</sup> Zeitoun-Cairo, the other in the possession of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,<sup>6</sup> the upper field of the blazon shows a lion passant and the lower is bendy of eight and ten pieces respectively.

### *Rosette*

The fourth place among the emblems that are neither symbols nor marks of office is occupied by the rosette. It was one of the oldest devices used under the Ayyubids, and became the badge of the Rasūlid and Rāsīd dynasties, and, to judge from its frequent occurrence on pottery, must have been very popular with the early Mamluks. The Ayyubid and Mamluk rosette is usually six-petalled (Mūsā b. Yaghmur's is eight-petalled), and the Rasūlid five-petalled.

<sup>1</sup> Rowe, 'The Palestine Expedition, Report of the 1928 Season' (in *Museum Journal*, 1929, p. 55).

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik*, Berlin 1923, Ornament No. 260, p. 200, fig. 285, pl. XCI.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Armorial Roll*, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pl. XX. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. pl. I. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, December 1910, p. 51.



The whirling rosette is not a blazon. In the fourteenth century it often formed part of blazons with several emblems, but under the Circassians it went out of fashion and appeared only once, in 1449 (al-'Ainī).

The list of its holders, in chronological order, is as follows: Mūsā b. Yagh-mūr, Kāfūr ar-Rūmī, Bahādur Āş, Alṭunbughā b. Yūsuf, Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, Baybughā, Sha'bān, al-'Ainī.

### Bars

Although bars, as a device, are merely a multiplied fesse, it seems advisable to class them separately, since what in Saracenic heraldry looks like a fesse is in reality an office-mark, whereas no such meaning can be attributed to the bars. This device was borne by three amirs: Bahādur al-Manjakī, Qushtamur, *shādd ad-dawāwīn* in Egypt, and Ṭurunṭay at-Ṭabbākhī, whose biographies afford no clue to the meaning of this blazon.

### Crescent

The crescent, although quite common on heraldic potsherds, appears only in two historical blazons: that of 'Alī b. Hilāl ad-daula, without a shield, and on the lower field of the shield of Ṣārim ad-dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Aqīl ash-Shihābī. In the first of these cases one might be induced to think of a canting coat, *hilāl* in Arabic meaning 'crescent'. In the second, there are neither biographical indications nor hints in the inscription to help us. Nevertheless, I venture to suggest that the possibility be considered of this emblem being in reality not a crescent, but a horseshoe (according to Abu-l-Fidā' the emblem of the master of the stable, *amīr akḥūr*). The oriental horseshoe, even in these days, is very different from the European.<sup>1</sup> It looked—and still looks—like a circle with a small hole inside. Drawn with a pair of compasses it would look just like the device on Ibrāhīm's shield, and still more so on potsherds. But of course, before forming any definite opinion, we shall have to wait until a case with conclusive literary evidence is available.

This emblem often appears in combination with other charges, either displayed on them, e.g. on napkins, or placed alongside or between, e.g. with swords. With the introduction of the composite blazon on three-fielded shields it disappears entirely.

Hitherto certain pictures have been regarded as blazons even though there

<sup>1</sup> To give one instance out of many, cf. the fifteenth-century miniature in Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Volume of Plates, No. 47.

was no evidence for their heraldic character. They are: trees,<sup>1</sup> fishes,<sup>2</sup> the so-called 'Seal of Solomon',<sup>3</sup> the dagger,<sup>4</sup> the flower,<sup>5</sup> the duck,<sup>6</sup> and the antelope.<sup>7</sup>

## GRAMMAR OF HERALDRY

### TERMINI TECHNICI

In the strict sense of the word there is only one technical term in Arabic heraldic language, and that is the word *rank*. It has already been pointed out that this word meant originally 'colour', and then 'came to mean, like our own expression, the "colours" of a regiment, and hence any distinguishing "badge" or "bearing", "coat of arms"'.<sup>8</sup> The exact meaning of the word is difficult to establish; in some instances it is used in the sense of 'achievement', to signify the whole of the emblazonment; in others it evidently denotes only the devices upon the shield, the exclusive word for the latter being *shi'ār* (emblem, distinctive sign). The shield is called *ad-dā'ira* (the circle), obviously because of the shape of most blazons,<sup>9</sup> the field is called *ard* (ground), and its divisions *shatfa* or *shatāb* (the latter once used for fesse). The names of the emblems are given in the paragraphs dealing with them.

### THE SHIELD

'The shield is the most important part of the achievement.' FOX-DAVIES, p. 60.

In Muslim Heraldry the use of arms did not necessitate the use of a shield. Arms could be displayed on shields of every conceivable shape, or they could be depicted on an object directly without the medium of a shield. Some of the earliest blazons appear without a shield, e.g. the lion of Baybars on coins, walls, and in the metal-work on doors; or they may appear at one time with,

<sup>1</sup> Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*, p. 68; Gayet, *L'Art Arabe*, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Artin, *Contribution*, p. 76 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Artin, *ib.*, pp. 174 f.

<sup>4</sup> Of the type published by Artin, *ib.*, p. 179, No. 308. A glance at the original, a potsherd in the British Museum, shows that this dagger owes its origin merely to the unskilled hand of Artin Pasha's draftsman. In reality it is a plain and unmistakable sword.

<sup>5</sup> Artin, *ib.*, p. 173, No. 302.

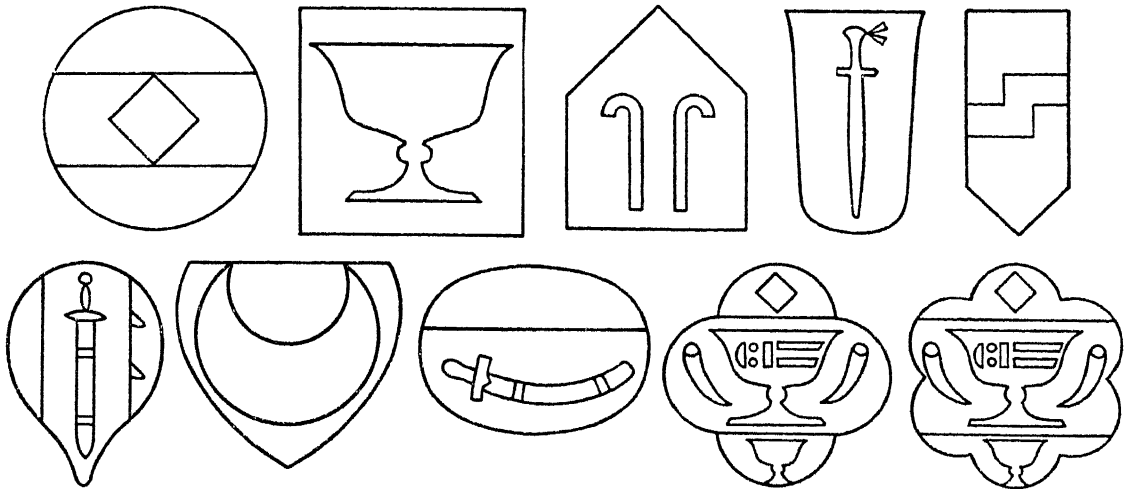
<sup>6</sup> Prisse d'Avennes, *l.c.*, p. 66; Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> Printed label of the tray 420—1854, in the Victoria and Albert Museum ('... an escutcheon ... an antelope within a fence'). Pictures, such as the owl, Karabacek, *Sarazenische Wappen*, pp. 22 ff., Gayet, *l.c.*, p. 282, &c., not having been attributed to Saracens—within the meaning of our definition—are not enumerated here.

<sup>8</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, p. 269.

<sup>9</sup> I do not remember reading an Arabic term for any other kind of heraldic shield.

and another time without, a shield, e.g. with a shield, Tankiz in his madrasah in Jerusalem and in Damascus, without it on his khan at Qalqīlieh, or again once on a round shield and then on a pointed one, e.g. Qarāsunqur's round shield over the window of his madrasah in Cairo or on the public fountain in Aleppo-Firdaus, and the pointed one on a metal ring on the western column of the prayer-niche in the same madrasah; or Muḥammad b. Kitbughā's round shield on a candle-stick in the Arabic Museum, Cairo, and his pointed one on a plate in the possession of Mr. R. A. Harari, London.



It would not appear that any specific shape of shield was reserved for any particular rank of knights, or for women, or for special classes of blazons.

One of the earliest fields on which Muslim blazons were displayed seems to have been the banner, and this probably accounts for the fact that the original arms had no shield at all. When blazons came to be depicted on shields, the heraldic shields were usually round, and naturally so, because the Saracenic shield, as a piece of armour, was also round. Whether the Ayyubids and Mam-luks at some time adopted the pointed shield for warfare under the influence of Frankish armour one cannot say, but in heraldry, pointed, rectangular, and pentagonal shields do appear, although very rarely. The types of shields mentioned in this volume are grouped together on this page.

#### COLOURS

Since the word used in medieval Arabic for 'blazon' means colour, we should naturally expect all Saracenic blazons to display great variety of colour. Sara-

centic authors sometimes speak of colours<sup>1</sup> in their descriptions of heraldic shields, but not when the device only is mentioned without description of the shield.<sup>2</sup> The colouring of the objects themselves, however, is very disappointing. The full range of colours appears only on glass, ceramics, in mosaic work and wall paintings; the blazons on pottery are as a rule so unreliable both as to design and colour that neither the shades nor the main colours are to be trusted. On metal objects colours are very rare and where they do appear they are confined to white and red.<sup>3</sup> In architecture generally no attempt was made to indicate the colours, such few attempts as were made being all confined to mosaic work in coloured stone or paste-inlay.

Nevertheless, the relative position of colours on metal-work might possibly be explained to a certain extent by certain portions of the shield, charges, or fields, having been covered with ornaments, while other portions were left blank. Thus it is not improbable that on the shield of Timrāz Shamsī the top and bottom fields and the cup were of the same colour. No similar attempt is seen on stone, although one might have thought that by incising or sinking either some of the fields of a shield or the emblems, the stone cutter would have hit upon some device for suggesting the relative position of colours. In this connexion two blazons are particularly informative: (a) the blazon of coloured inlay of the Madrasah Rāshidiyyah in al-Maidān al-Fauqānī at Damascus, of which the upper and middle fields are red, the lowest field being black and the cup on the middle field white, whereas the achromatic shield on the corner of the façade, which shows the same blazon but without inlay, has the cup as well as the upper and lower fields of the shield raised, i.e. brought on a level with the surface of the stone and the middle field sunk; (b) three achromatic blazons of Yūnus ad-Dawādār, of which the one on his mausoleum in Cairo has its upper and lower fields raised, i.e. level with the surface of the stone, and the relevant charges sunk, whereas the middle field is sunk and its emblem raised; that on his khan at Khān Yūnis near Gaza has its upper and lower fields sunk and the relevant emblems raised, whereas the middle field is raised

<sup>1</sup> Qalqashandī, *Subh al-A'shā*, IV. 61 l. ult., V. 34, l. 14, 301, l. 13; Ibn Iyās, II, p. 137, l. 20; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal as-Ṣafī*, s.v. Āqūsh al-Afram (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 3<sup>r</sup>); *an-Nujūm az-zāhira* (MS. Paris, Ar. 1783, fo. 77<sup>v</sup>, l. 6 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Constantinople, IV. 132; Ibn Iyās, II, p. 127, l. 9; Maqrīzī, *an-Nuqūd al-qadimah*, Constantinople, 1298, p. 15; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal as-Ṣafī*, s.v. Aybak; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II. 146, l. 7 b (2nd ed., i.e. Cairo, 1324, vol. III. 238, l. 12).

<sup>3</sup> With the very welcome exception of the pen-box of Abu-l-Fidā', in the possession of Mr. R. A. Harari, London, where black and gold inlay appears as well.

and the emblem sunk, that on his mosque in Damascus has the upper field sunk and the emblem raised, while both middle and lower fields are sunk and the relevant emblems raised. It would be hard to find better examples than these for proving that there was no question of any indication of colour on monochrome stone.

The colours used, making due allowance for changes owing to natural decay or the influence of soil or atmosphere, are: white (silver on metal), yellow (gold on metal and glass), red, green, blue, brown, black, and self-colour.<sup>1</sup> Cream, so often seen on pottery, probably stood for white. All the colours appear in a range of shades, two different shades of the same colour sometimes being used on the same shield.

### *Simple Charges*

The simple charges<sup>2</sup> have been dealt with on pp. 10–26 of the Introduction, so that there is no need to discuss them here. It will be recalled, however, that so far as we are in a position to interpret them, they are either marks of office or symbols, both animate or inanimate, either personal or tribal.

### *Composite Blazons*

Matters are more difficult when we come to deal with composite blazons. These again can be subdivided under two heads: blazons containing one symbol two or three times repeated, and blazons consisting of several devices. The only emblem used in the first subdivision is the cup. So far as my knowledge goes, there is no pair of polo-sticks or swords, or pen-box, napkin, round table, or any other charge repeated on two fields of the same shield without other emblems appearing as well. It must be borne in mind that we are only dealing with blazons accompanied by inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Some of the holders of these blazons with double or treble cups were cup-bearers, e.g. Shaikh al-Khāṣṣakī, but by no means all of them. We know, for example, that the Atābak Damurdāsh az-Zāhirī,<sup>4</sup> Governor of Aleppo and Tripoli in 812, was an armour-bearer (*silahdār*) when in the page corps at the court of Sultan

<sup>1</sup> By 'self-colour' I mean cases like the shield of Tuquztamur, the upper field of which is of colourless transparency on his glass lamps and yellowish on his copper and brass vases.

<sup>2</sup> To facilitate the survey, all these emblems have been arranged on p. 8 and given numbers to which reference is made in the text.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. p. 79, l. 5 f.

<sup>4</sup> Serving Barqūq's son, al-Malik an-Nāṣir Faraj, he used to be called an-Nāṣirī.



COMPOSITE BLAZONS

Barqūq, Aytmiş being jamdār. We have detailed biographies of these men, but there is no record that they ever served as cup-bearers.

These are comparatively simple cases; but the more composite the blazon, the less can the emblem be regarded as a mark of office.

In the first dated fully composite blazon, that of Jamāl ad-dīn al-Ustādār, we have an example of a combination of two marks of office: the pen-box, together with the sword and the emblem No. 26, which would imply that the holder served simultaneously in two different sections of the page corps. Later on we find coats of arms with still more charges: the typical blazon of the end of the fifteenth century contained six figures, and that of Uzbek al-Yūsufī nine, representing three different marks of office. This accumulation of subaltern page offices might be explicable in the rare case of a specially gifted page at court, but as an every day occurrence, as the usual *cursus honorum* of the average cadet, who later on became an average amir, it seems highly improbable, not to say impossible, especially as there is no record of such a *cursus honorum* to be found in contemporary sources. This is an argument *ex silentio*; the positive proof is that biographies of Mamluk amirs of the fifteenth century show in all cases known to us a series of court offices very different from those which we should have to reconstruct on the basis of the charges displayed on their coat of arms.<sup>1</sup>

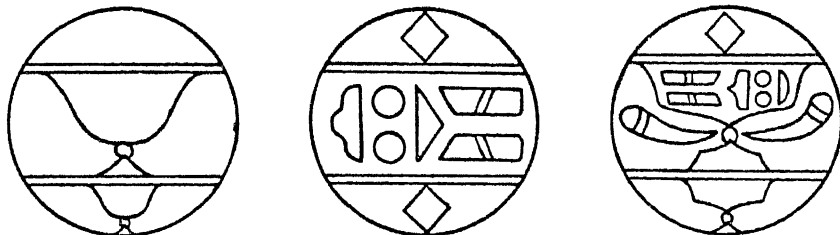
As we have already noted, the theory which satisfactorily explains the simple blazon does not explain the composite blazon at all, and we must look elsewhere for an explanation.

Similar phenomena are also conspicuous in European heraldry. The very simple charges of the early centuries of our millenium become more and more multiplex as time goes on and long before there is any question of overcrowding shields by quartering or by augmentation of honour, we find from five to six devices on a blazon used merely for the sake of variety. To a certain degree the same may be said to apply to Muslim heraldry. At a time when there was one cup-bearer at court, a shield with a cup was informative enough; when, in the fifteenth century, the number of khāṣṣakīs was increased (under Barsbāy there were about 1,000 of them),<sup>2</sup> the small range of colours used in Muslim heraldry did not afford sufficient differentiation, so that recourse was had to other means, namely, to a variety of emblems. There is also a very marked inconsistency to be taken into account. If we consider in chronologi-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the biographies of the relevant amirs in 'The Armorial Roll'.

<sup>2</sup> *CIA. Égypte*, I. 287, n. 2.

cal order the blazons of the fifteenth century, which start with two devices and end with nine, we find a constantly growing diversity. But in examining them closer we discover that about four-fifths belong to one or the other of the following three groups:



It is as though this incongruity, namely multiplicity of figures, with paucity of types of badges, made a proper explanation of the composite blazon impossible.

It would seem that under the late Ayyubids and early Mamluks, amirs were granted their blazons,<sup>1</sup> whereas under the Circassians they were allowed free choice.<sup>2</sup> And fashion was undoubtedly largely responsible for the choice of the devices, except that it cannot be considered as the only, perhaps not even as the main, determining factor.

Let us consider two examples of larger classes of composite blazons, the *early* fifteenth-century blazon with two cups, and the *late* fifteenth-century blazon having a napkin in the upper field, a big cup charged with a pen-box and placed between two figures representing, perhaps, a pair of trousers in the middle field and a small cup in the lower one. We shall not deal with the middle group, since either by accident or for unknown reasons, the number of historical and identifiable persons among the holders of this blazon is too small to admit of any conclusions being drawn.

The following blazons of the first group are known: Aytmiş, Barakab, Damurdāsh, Duqmāq, Kumushbughā, Taghrībirmish, Yashbak ash-Sha‘bānī.

Of the second: Āqbirdī, Bīlbāy, Jānbalāt, Jauhar, Khairbak, Khairbak min Aynāl, Khudābirdī, Muḥammad b. an-Nashāshībī, Muḥsin, Qānībāy, Qajmās, Qānshūh, Sībāy, Sūdūn, Tanam, Tānībak.

The list is not a very long one; it could, of course, be considerably extended by adding all the instances of inscriptions that make mention either of an ‘al-

<sup>1</sup> Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I a, p. 2, n. 4; Reinaud, ‘Observations générales sur les médailles musulmanes à figures’ (in *Journal Asiatique*, 18<sup>e</sup> cahier, 1823, p. 353).

<sup>2</sup> Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-‘ashā*, IV. 62, l. 1.



Malikī az-Zāhirī' or an 'al-Malikī al-Ashrafī', enabling us to identify the amir, although we could not prove in these cases that al-Malik az-Zāhir refers to Barqūq, and al-Malik al-Ashraf to Qāyrbāy. In a few instances, especially on small objects, space did not allow the craftsman to finish the protocol, so that he had to drop the 'relatif d'appartenance'.

But even as the list stands it contains a fair number of all the blazons extant, and so may serve to suggest, if not, perhaps, to prove, that most of the Zāhirīs Barqūq and Ashrafīs Qāyrbāy had a blazon of the same design, although evidently different in point of colours.

This being so, we may venture on the general statement that, during the fifteenth century, the Mamluks of each powerful sultan, who, in history, always appear as united groups bound together by a strong *esprit de corps*, had a common badge irrespective of the office held by the individual Mamluk when the amirate was conferred upon him.

This would be the simplest explanation of the apparent inconsistency that in the very period characterized by the tendency to make blazons more and more complicated, big groups of identical blazons should have been formed.

In a class by itself are the two composite blazons showing emblems charged with complete shields, one of Ghars ad-dīn Khalīl on the minbar of the mosque at Qūṣ, consisting of a three-fielded shield, the middle field of which is charged with the emblem No. 26 displayed on an undivided shield, the other of 'Alā' ad-dīn 'Alī b. Nāṣir ad-dīn Muḥammad on the southern wall of the Madrasa Ṣubaibiyya, Jerusalem, consisting of a three-fielded shield, upper field blank, on the middle field a cup charged with a napkin displayed on the middle field of a three-fielded shield, on the lower field a cup.

### *Hybrid Compositions*

We should classify as hybrid compositions all blazons depicting either animals or tamghas together with signs of office. As we have seen in previous chapters, in all cases in which sufficient details about the lives of their holders are known, it is the sign of office that is the essential component of the blazon, the other charge being—it would seem—a meaningless addition; e.g. Ṭuquztamur, the *sāqī*, had a cup placed underneath an eagle, Bahādur al-Ḥamawī, Chief of the corps of *jamdārs*, had a napkin underneath an eagle. Cf. also pls. I. 7, III. 5, 9, 11, 12.

*Various Blazons on the Same Object*

The third group consists of objects each of which has two different blazons, in most cases one in the centre of a dish or bowl and the other repeated on the inner sides. It is most probable that these are blazons of officers and their masters, but since, with the exception of Aydamur al-Qaimarī,<sup>1</sup> none of them is accompanied by an historical inscription, I am contenting myself with reproducing those that have come to my notice, instead of risking a more or less hypothetical explanation.<sup>2</sup>

## THE INSCRIBED SHIELD

We have already seen<sup>3</sup> that some scholars have doubted as to whether the Saracenic blazon could properly be called a blazon in the European sense of the word. These doubts were multiplied in the case of shields which, in the place of emblems, merely showed script.<sup>4</sup> The first of these inscribed shields to attract the attention of Orientalists was the shield of the Naṣrid princes of Granada which bears the motto *ولا غالب الا الله هـ* ('There is no victor but God'). But whereas in the Saracenic provinces we frequently meet with this type of shield and can trace there its evolution from the first tentative examples in the eleventh century down to its decay in the sixteenth, in Spain it remained an isolated phenomenon.

The first datable examples out of which this shield evolves go back to the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. They are to be found on lamps, bowls, and similar objects which, to judge from the accompanying inscriptions, are attributable to the later Baḥrī Mamluk sultans like Muḥammad, the son, and Ḥasan, the grandson, of Qalāūn. About this time, the three-fielded shield of the amirial blazon had already been in use. In like manner, too, the shield comprising inscriptions only was divided into

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roll, s.v.<sup>2</sup> Cf. pl. XIII.<sup>3</sup> P. I.

<sup>4</sup> *CIA. Égypte* I, p. 45. The latest instance is v. Zambaur's review of my *Guide to the Exhibition of Moslem Heraldry*, in the *Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, XXXIII. 288. It was, therefore, not without some reluctance that I dealt with this matter in my 'Das Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane' (in the *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1925, pp. 183 ff.), more especially as the term 'rank' is in no authentically verifiable case applied to an inscribed shield. Nevertheless these shields, in the days of the Circassian mamluks, would seem to have taken the place of blazons, and it is for this reason that they have been included—though again with the greatest reserve and without their being called blazons—in this survey. On the other hand it must not be overlooked that, besides the mottoes, there are in European heraldry more instances than one usually remembers of both city arms and family blazons with shields on which nothing more than letters or words are displayed.

three fields,<sup>1</sup> of which the middle one bore the inscription, whilst the upper and lower fields were left blank.

The texts of the inscriptions on shields of this early period occur in the following versions: 'izz li-maulānā', 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān', 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik', 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān 'azza naṣruhu'.<sup>2</sup> The motto is sometimes distributed over several shields, so that only by reading them together is it possible to get the whole of the text.<sup>3</sup> Who the 'Lord' referred to stood for was clear to the user of the vessel, because in most cases his name or titles were mentioned in the accompanying inscriptions. It is only about the middle of the fourteenth century that the sultanian epithet appears on the shields.

A step towards the transition to the Circassian type is seen in a shield of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn<sup>4</sup> in two lines:

- (a) Muḥammad
- (b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik an-nāṣir
- (c) ornament

and in the shields on the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo, with the inscriptions, 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik an-nāṣir Ḥasan' and 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik an-nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad'. It is curious to note that Ḥasan's formula, though later in date, occupies but a single line, whereas his father's shield, in two lines, more nearly approaches the later and final type. At all events these inscriptions contain two-thirds of the full text of the later shield.

This final stage of the inscribed shield is reached under Barqūq. In his inscriptions, lamps, &c., we meet with round medallions with a three-line text in the following variants:

1. (a) aḡ-ḡāhir
- (b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik
- (c) 'azza naṣruhu

<sup>1</sup> It is just possible, of course, that there are inscribed shields with an undivided field. Compare the illustration of a lamp formerly in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

<sup>2</sup> The words 'azza naṣruhu' on the last-mentioned sherd are at the end of the line, and placed in a position vertical to that of the rest of the text.

<sup>3</sup> *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 242, pl. LVII. For other examples of this and other kinds of inscribed shields see my 'Das Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane' (*Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1925, p. 184, n. 8).

<sup>4</sup> Bourgoïn, *Précis de l'Art Arabe*, I, p. 6, pl. XXXII: Maison de l'émir Bardak près Sultan Hasan.

2. (a) al-malik  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān  
(c) aẓ-ẓāhir<sup>1</sup>
3. (a) Barqūq  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik aẓ-ẓāhir  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu<sup>2</sup>
4. (a) aẓ-ẓāhir  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān  
(c) al-malik.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the three-fielded inscribed shield had originally only one, a middle line of text, to which at a later stage the first line containing the name was added, shows without need of further explanation that these rows of text must be read in the order of *b, a, c*, and why they must be so read in most cases.

Of these three forms, No. 3 has become typical, though it took some little time to establish itself. Thus the shield of Faraj, son of Barqūq, reads as follows:

- (a) Faraj
- (b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik an-nāṣir
- (c) b. Barqūq.<sup>4</sup>

Of Faraj's successor, the Caliph al-Musta'in bi-llāh, we possess but a single shield. During the half year of his reign he had little time or occasion to create works of art and to decorate them with blazons. But in the principal mosque at Gaza he did have an inscription<sup>5</sup> engraved to mark the abolition of the unfair taxes (*maẓālim*) imposed by Faraj. In the middle of the slab there is a pear-shaped shield with the following inscription:

- (a) al-'Abbās
- (b) amīr ul-mu'minīn
- (c) 'azza naṣruhu.

The most striking feature about this text, however, apart from its being couched in the terms of a caliphial instead of a sultanian shield, is the absence of the characteristic introduction *'izz li-maulānā*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wiet, *Lampes*, pl. LXXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Schumacher, 'Researches' (in Q. St. 1886, p. 181).

<sup>3</sup> Wiet, l.c., pls. LXXVIII, LXXX, LXXXIV. The rare forms (2 and 4) represent an exception.

<sup>4</sup> *CIA. Égypte*, I. 318.

<sup>5</sup> The full text of this inscription is to be published in the last instalment of my 'Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza', appearing in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*.

<sup>6</sup> But the shields of the Sultans Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy (No. 2) and Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī (No. 4) should also be compared.

It is only at this stage, i.e. from the time of the Caliph al-Musta'in bi-llāh, that the inscribed shield takes on a more schematic form and that the expression of the 'formule habituelle des cartouches' becomes justified. The preceding examples have clearly shown that this form was only arrived at after a struggle, to lose it again—as will be seen later—from the time of al-Malik al-'Ādil Tūmānbāy. But between these two reigns, as evidenced by the following examples, the formula, with two exceptions, was the accepted one. It is chiefly characterized by the upper field consisting of *kunya* and *ism*:

1. (a) abu-n-naṣr Shaikh  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-mu'ayyad  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu<sup>1,2</sup>
2. (a) abu-n-naṣr Barsbāy  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu<sup>3</sup>
3. (a) abu-n-naṣr Aynāl  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu<sup>4</sup>
4. (a) [Shihāb ad-dīn?] A[hmad]  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultā[n al-malik] al-mu'ayyad  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu<sup>5</sup>
5. (a) abu-n-naṣr Qāyrbāy  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu.<sup>6</sup>

To this period belongs the second caliphial shield that we know. This shield dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and, though its bearer was no sultan, it retained the style of the Mamluk shields. It is the shield of the Caliph Abu-l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Mustanjid bi-llāh, and appears in several

<sup>1</sup> On another shield of Shaikh the words 'azza naṣruhu are omitted:

(a) an-naṣr Shaikh  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik  
(c) al-mu'ayyad abu.

<sup>2</sup> Van Berchem, *Inscriptionen Oppenheim*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *CIA. Égypte*, I. 376.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 401.

<sup>5</sup> *CR. Exercise* 1909, p. 162 f. The next example, on a slab of marble from a house in the Armenian quarter, Jerusalem, now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, is an exception to the rule:

(a) al-malik az-ẓāhir  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān  
(c) Abū Sa'īd Khushqadam.

<sup>6</sup> *CIA. Égypte*, I. 431.

medallions on a basin published by Sobernheim.<sup>1</sup> The inscription reads:

‘‘izz li-maulānā amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘azza qudsuhu’.

The fact that it is anonymous and occupies only one line gives it the character of a shield dating from the period of the Qalāūn dynasty rather than from the time of Qāyrbāy. However, as there can be no doubt about its attribution, the date, too, must be correct.

The first deviation from the form occurs under Muḥammad, the son of Qāyrbāy, and consists of the dropping of the *kunya*:

1. (a) Muḥammad
- (b) ‘izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik an-nāṣir
- (c) ‘azza naṣruhu<sup>2</sup>

or of the inclusion of the father’s name in the top field, and the transposition of the *kunya* to the middle field, to read:

1. (a) Muḥammad<sup>3</sup> b. Qāyrbāy
- (b) as-sultān al-malik an-nāṣir abu-s-sa‘ādāt
- (c) ‘azza naṣruhu.<sup>4</sup>

In the shield of aḏ-Zāhir Qānṣūh the old form is again reverted to, thus:

- (a) Abū Sa‘īd Qānṣūh
- (b) ‘izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik aḏ-zāhir
- (c) ‘azza naṣruhu.<sup>5</sup>

Under Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī practically all the forms up to then in use again recur:

1. (a) abu-n-naṣr Qānṣūh
- (b) ‘izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf
- (c) ‘azza naṣruhu<sup>6</sup>
2. (a) Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī
- (b) ‘izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf
- (c) ‘azza naṣruhu<sup>7</sup>
3. (a) abu-n-naṣr Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī
- (b) ‘izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf
- (c) ‘azza naṣruhu<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘Arabische Gefäßinschriften von der Ausstellung islamischer Kunst in Paris (1903)’ (in ZDPV. XXVIII, 1905, p. 184).

<sup>2</sup> CIA. *Égypte*, I. 457.

<sup>4</sup> Van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften (Exhibition Munich)*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 580, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, 577, pl. XXXVII, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously written *m b d*.

<sup>5</sup> CIA. *Égypte*, I. 556.

<sup>8</sup> CIA. *Égypte*, I. 565.

4. (a) Qānṣūh  
(b) al-mālik al-malik al-ashraf abu-n-naṣr al-Ghaurī  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu<sup>1</sup>
5. (a) Qānṣūh  
(b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf abu-n-naṣr Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī  
(c) 'azza naṣruhu<sup>2</sup>

and, strangest of all, in that it again reverts to the very earliest forms of inscribed shields:

6. 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-ashraf<sup>3</sup>

with blank upper and lower field.

It is this epoch of the complete decay of the inscribed shield from which dates the shield of the Amir Dawlātbāy (the amir whom van Berchem was probably correct in assuming to have been the governor of Gaza), and which reads:

- (a) Dawlātbāy
- (b) al-maqarr al-ashraf al-'ālī as-saifī
- (c) 'azza naṣruhu.<sup>4</sup>

It would here seem to have been a case of an insolent amir who, conscious of his own power and the weakness of his sovereign, arrogated to himself one of the prerogatives of the sultan.

Contrary to the amirial blazons, the inscribed shields did not disappear immediately after the Ottoman conquest. In the Citadel at Jerusalem we come across medallions<sup>5</sup> bearing the name of Sultan Sulaimān I. In form these medallions are very similar to the Mamluk type, reading:

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| (a) 'azza Allāhu       | (a) abu-n-naṣr Sulaimān shāh                       |
| (b) as-sultān Sulaimān | (b) 'izz li-maulānā as-sultān al-malik al-muẓaffar |
| (c) naṣrahu            | (c) ibn 'Uthmān 'azza naṣruhu                      |

whilst their date may be taken to be 1531/2. But then these last offshoots of the inscribed shield are already outside the purview of our subject.

The common shape of the inscribed shield was round or pear-shaped, tapering towards the bottom. There are cases, however, of bi-cuspid shields (round shields that bulge at the centre and grow narrower at the top and

<sup>1</sup> Sobernheim, *Zitadelle*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 26, pl. IV, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *CIA. Égypte*, I. 682.

<sup>4</sup> Van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften (Exhibition Munich)*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 149 f., fig. 19. A fine photograph of the second medallion was published in *Jerusalem*, ed. C. R. Ashbee, I, fig. 79.

bottom),<sup>1</sup> and shields with a rounded top field, square centre, and triangular lower field.<sup>2</sup> Other types of shields known to us from the arms of amirs do not, to my knowledge, occur in the inscribed shield.

## THE PROBLEM OF HEREDITY

The question as to whether armorial bearings of the Ayyubids and Mamluks were transmitted from father to son is one of the many problems of Muslim heraldry which previous writers have answered partly in the affirmative and partly in the negative.

Rogers<sup>3</sup> was convinced that the blazon was not hereditary. Although he knew that Ānūk carried the blazon of his grandfather Qalāūn,<sup>4</sup> and that two grandsons and a great grandson of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn had the same blazon, viz. the fleur-de-lis,<sup>5</sup> when describing the blazon of Baraka Khān,<sup>6</sup> who carried the same emblem as his father Baybars, he wrote: 'je n'ai vu qu'un seul cas où le fils ait pris les mêmes armoiries que son père' which shows that he considered this to be an exception.

The same view was held by Lavoix,<sup>7</sup> Prisse d'Avennes,<sup>8</sup> and Lane-Poole.<sup>9</sup> Artin Pasha<sup>10</sup> repeated it: 'les armoiries n'étaient pas héréditaires dans une famille', but he changed his opinion fourteen years later.<sup>11</sup>

Karabacek<sup>12</sup> stated several times that the Saracens had family blazons (*Hauswappen*), although he never attempted to prove it.

The difficulty of seeing clearly in this matter lies in the scantiness of the material. There were few sons and still fewer grandsons of amirs who held high rank in the military class of Mamluk society. The children of amirs used to receive a religious and general education fitting them rather for religious

<sup>1</sup> Sobernheim, 'Arabische Gefassinschriften von der Ausstellung in Paris' (in *ZDPV.* XXVIII, 1905, pl. VI).

<sup>2</sup> G. Schumacher, 'Researches in Southern Palestine' (in *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1886, p. 181).

<sup>3</sup> *Le Blason*, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> *GBA.* t. XXXII, 1885, p. 300: n'étaient pas héréditaires.

<sup>8</sup> *L'Art Arabe*, p. 67: chaque émir adoptait ou recevait un signe, que son fils n'était pas tenu de conserver et changeait à volonté.

<sup>9</sup> *The Art of the Saracens*, p. 270: they were not hereditary.

<sup>10</sup> 'Trois différentes armoiries' (in *BIE.*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, No. 9, 1888, p. 74).

<sup>11</sup> *Contribution*, p. 227: nous ne pouvons affirmer avec certitude, et d'une manière générale, que pour tous les chevaliers blasonnés, l'hérédité des armoiries existait ou a pu exister à une certaine époque en Orient.

<sup>12</sup> *Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, p. 5, n.; *Papyri Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, No. 1323, p. 272 ('erbliche Familienwappen').



and administrative posts (*al-waṣṣāʾ if ad-dīniyya* and *al-waṣṣāʾ if ad-dīwāniyya*), the holders of which not being military dignitaries most likely had no badges. Of the tens of thousands of blazons which were painted, engraved, or sculptured in the Mamluk realm, perhaps not more than three thousand have so far been discovered, and only a fraction of these is accompanied by inscriptions. Of the latter there are fewer than three hundred and fifty historical texts upon which an identification of their respective bearers could be based. In these circumstances it is hardly to be expected that the small remnant left should contain many blazons of sons and grandsons of amirs, and especially of several sons of the same amir, the evidence we would require to make sure that it is not a case of mere coincidence but a regular system. To make matters worse, in some of the few cases in which blazons of sons of amirs are known to us, neither the blazons nor the offices of their respective fathers are known at all, so that no comparison can be made. Nevertheless, I venture to submit the hypothesis that the blazon was hereditary in the case of sons of amirial rank, not only because of the identity of the blazon in *all* instances in which the blazons of both father and son are known (Baybars and Baraka Khān, Kitbughā and Muḥammad b. Kitbughā, Qauṣūn and Ḥusain b. Qauṣūn, Shaʿbān and Ḥājji, Shaʿbān and ʿAlī),<sup>1</sup> but also because in a case in which the blazon of the son only is known, it shows the very emblem we should expect on the shield of his father.<sup>2</sup>

## THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF WOMEN

Although Muslim women of those times enjoyed a great deal of freedom, with the exception of the foundress of the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt none of them had ever occupied official posts, failing which they could not show any symbols of such posts in their own rights. Nevertheless, we find on four occasions inscriptions to the memory of women or made by their order and ornamented with blazons: on the tomb of Quṭlū Khātūn in Ṭurunṭāy's madrasah (now the Zāwiyat Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī) in Gaza,<sup>3</sup> on a plaque in the at-Turkumānī Mosque in Cairo,<sup>4</sup> on a bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (557—'78)<sup>5</sup> and on a flat copper dish in the collection of

<sup>1</sup> I am quoting only instances of simple blazons, as identical composite blazons can be explained differently, see p. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Aḥmad b. Baktamur as-sāqī, whose blazon was a cup, although he himself never held the post of cup-bearer. Cf. also Mūsā b. Aruqtāy, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Armorial Roll, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Armorial Roll, s.v. Salmā.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Armorial Roll, s.v. Fāṭima.

M. Eustache de Lorey, formerly Director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulmans, Damascus.<sup>1</sup>

In the first case it is difficult to say whether the blazon (two polo-sticks with balls) represents the coats of arms of Bahādur, her father, or of Ṭurunṭāy, the founder of the Madrasah, possibly her husband. Both are called polo-masters in their inscriptions left in the Zāwiyah, but the odds are in favour of Ṭurunṭāy, as Bahādur's death occurred prior to his daughter's;<sup>2</sup> it is most likely, therefore, that Ṭurunṭāy put his own blazon on the tomb. The second case is clearer: Salmā was the wife of amir 'Alā' ad-dīn 'Alī b. at-Turkumānī, and although we do not know the proper meaning of his blazon and do not know what relation—if any—there is between the enigmatic device on his shield and the office he occupied, there is little doubt that the blazon belongs to him and not to his otherwise quite unknown wife. The third example is that of Lady Fāṭima, daughter of Sūdūn al-Mu'ayyadī, Governor of Hama, an amir, whose blazon is not ascertainable from other sources, so that it is impossible to state whether Fāṭima's coat of arms was his or some other Amir's. The copper dish in M. de Lorey's collection was made by order of a certain Ḥalīma bint an-Nāniq (?), a person whom I am unable to trace in the texts at my disposal; the blazon is not identical with that of the only namesake of her father I have come across.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up: If on the basis of the scanty material available any conclusion could be drawn at all, it would be to the effect that on a Mamluk lady's object her father's or—what is more likely in the case of a married woman—her husband's blazon would appear without any impalement or difference marks.

## FORGERIES

The collector of Muslim heraldic objects bound to make diligent search for good pieces is in one respect better off than collectors in other fields because forgeries are rare and very easily detected. The main indications pointing to such forgeries are: (a) the workmanship in what may be termed Damascus style of the nineteenth century, mainly in the case of metal and pottery; (b) the pseudo-historical inscriptions, invariably very clumsy in their wording without regard to the right character and sequence of the titles,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Armorial Roll, s.v. Ḥalīma. There was one other blazon of a woman in the collection of M. de Lorey on an object which disappeared during the looting of the Palais Azem in 1925.

<sup>2</sup> On the funerary slab he is spoken of as 'deceased' (*marḥūm*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Armorial Roll, s.v. Nāniq al-Ashrafī.

usually anonymous; (c) the bizarre form of emblems and hybrid combinations. Moreover, it is questionable whether these objects are forgeries in the proper sense of the word since they may quite possibly have been meant and made to represent modern articles inspired by old models without any intention to deceive the buyer. With the exception of a few lamps there are probably no objects of Muslim art with heraldic emblems that have been faithfully copied from old originals and there are certainly none that would have been copied for the sake of the blazon alone. On the contrary (apart from the general description 'ẓāhirī' by which dealers in Muslim antiquities, especially in Syria, qualify everything that is in their eyes old and Arabic no matter whether it is Umayyad or Ottoman), authentic Mamluk objects, including some with historical inscriptions from the fourteenth century, have often been described to me in shops as being a hundred years old more or less. A few examples shown on pls. LXX and LXXI will illustrate those types which most nearly approach genuine objects.



# THE ARMORIAL ROLL

## 'ABD AL-QĀDIR

BLAZON: *On upper and lower fields device No. 38, on middle field a pen-box.*

BASIN. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London.

Four shields and twice-repeated inscription on the outside of the basin.

مما عمل برسم الزيني عبد القادر ○ ابن الكاتب الترجمان عظم شأنه ○

*This is one of the objects made for Zain ad-dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, son of the Scribe and Translator, may his dignity increase.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## ABŪ BAKR B. 'ABD AL-BĀRR

Possibly identical with T. Abū Bakr<sup>1</sup> b. 'Abd al-Bārr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain,<sup>1</sup> originally of Hims, died 795 (1392/3). Grandson of a famous judge in Egypt.

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields blank, on white middle field a pen-box.<sup>2</sup>*

CANDLESTICK, Louvre, Paris. Formerly collection Piet-Latauderie. Pl. XXXIII. 5, 6. Inscriptions, intersected by shields, on top and sides of the neck, and on top and sides of the body. The last of these inscriptions being the fullest, I am copying it here.

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف الكريم العالى المولوى ○ السيدى المالكى المخدومى  
العضدى الذخرى ○ التقوى أبو [بكر] [جل] المرحوم القاضى عبد البار عظم شأنه

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, the Supporter, the Treasure, Taqī ad-dīn Abū Bakr, son of the late Judge 'Abd al-Bārr, may his dignity increase.*

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 83<sup>v</sup>), where he is called Saif ad-dīn, son of Ṣadr ad-dīn, son of Taqī ad-dīn, the Chief Judge.

<sup>2</sup> The upper and lower fields and the pen-box on the middle field are roughened so as to take an inlay, but all traces of the latter are gone.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced, with short descriptions: Migeon, 'Collection de M. Piet-Latauderie' (in *Les Arts*, August 1909, pp. 24 and 25); Migeon, *Exposition des Arts Musulmans au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, pl. 24; Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman, Armes, Sculpture, &c.*, p. 27, No. 111, pl. 31; Devonshire, 'Some Mihrâb Candlesticks' (in *The Burlington Magazine*, December 1923), fig. D, to which belongs the text under fig. B, where it is ascribed to Abū Bakr b. Muzhir.

### ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. MUZHİR<sup>1</sup>

Z. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muzhir ad-Dimishqī al-Anṣārī, born 832 (1428/9), became on the 20th Dhu-l-Qa'da 866 (16th August 1462) Privy Secretary (*kātib as-sirr*), Inspector of Stables (*nāẓir al-iṣṭabl*), then Inspector of the Army (*nāẓir al-jaiṣ*), in 876 appointed Superintendent of the Chancery (*nāẓir dīwān al-inshā'*), an office he held till his death the 3rd<sup>2</sup> Ramaḍān 893 (11th August 1488).

BLAZON: Pen-box on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.

MADRASA of Abū Bakr, Cairo.

Inset in the pulpit and the doors in the main hall of the building many shields of wood inlaid with ivory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reproduced: *CR.* fasc. 8, pl. III, Devonshire, *Sultan Salāh ed-Dīn's Writing-box in the National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo*, p. 243, fig. E.

Mentioned: *CR.* Exerc. 1897, fasc. 14, p. vi.

### ABU-L-FIDĀ'<sup>3</sup>

'Imād ad-dīn Abu-l-Fidā' Ismā'il b. 'Alī al-Ayyūbī, born in Jumādā I 672 (which began 13th November 1273); saw military service under his cousin al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd, prince (*ṣāhib*) of Hama, in 690 (1291) as Amir

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, VII, pp. 696, l. 9, 711, l. 9, 746, l. 6, 749, l. 4; Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially II, p. 253, l. 7 ff.; Muḥir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 389, l. 4 ff.; *CR.* fasc. 8, p. 94; 'Alī Pasha, V. 114; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 506, n. 4 and 6; Wiet, 'Les Secrétaires de la Chancellerie' (*Mélanges René Basset*), p. 37 f.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥir ad-dīn, l.c.: the 6th.

<sup>3</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Constantinople, IV, pp. 31, l. 4, 43, l. 4 b, penult., 63, l. 1 ff., 64, l. 12, 70-2, 74-5, 81, l. 4 b, 89-90, 108, ll. 3 ff. (=Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 297, ll. 11 b-5 b). Autobiography (in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. orient.* I. 166-86). Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 153, ll. 14, 15, 169, l. 20, 184, l. 16; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, s.v. I. 16-19. Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 314, 331-2, 354; Qalqashandī, *Subḥ* X, p. 182, ll. 10, 11 (where the word ست is to be crossed out), 12; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* (in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. orient.* I. 745-6); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 69<sup>v</sup>-70<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 180<sup>v</sup>-184<sup>r</sup>); M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*,

of Ten, from 692 onward as Amir of Forty. After Maḥmūd's death served under Muḥammad b. Qalāūn and Muẓaffar Baybars; appointed Governor of Hama on the 18th Jumādā I 710 (13th October 1310); received the provinces of Hama, al-Ma'arra, and Bārīn, with the rank of prince and the title of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ on the 25th Rabi' II 712 (30th August 1312); lost al-Ma'arra on the 19th Muḥarram 713 (6th May 1313); regained it in Jumādā I 716 (which began 22nd July 1316); received on the 17th Muḥarram 720 (28th February 1320) the title of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad and the hereditary<sup>1</sup> rank of Sultan. Died on the 28th<sup>2</sup> Muḥarram 732 (31st October 1331).

BLAZON: *Two-fielded shield. Upper field of indeterminable colour (perhaps self-coloured), lower field (united middle and lower fields) bendy of a varying number of pieces (10-12) in following sequence of colours: gold, red copper, gold, black resin, gold, red copper, gold, &c.*

PEN-BOX, in possession of R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XLIX.

Seventeen shields on the sides of the lid and on the body of the pen-box.

Inscription:

عزّ لمولانا السلطان الملك المؤيد عماد الدنيا والدين أبي الفداء إسماعيل عزّ أنصاره

*Glory to our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad 'Imād ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn Abu-l-Fidā' Ismā'il, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### SHIHĀB AD-DĪN [AḤMAD (?)]

BLAZON: *Pen-box on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

BASIN. Present owner unknown.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم العبد الفقير الراجي عفو ربه [التقدير ?] شهاب الدين المستوفى

عف [Sauvaget]

*This is one of the objects made for the poor servant hoping for the forgiveness of his Mighty Lord Shihāb ad-dīn the Overseer, [may God] pard[on him].*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

t. I, pp. ii-xxxviii. Weil, cf. Index, particularly IV. 400-1; Brockelmann, *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. (Engl. ed. I. 85 f.), quoting other European literature; *Majānī al-adab*, V. 294.

<sup>1</sup> Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ* X, p. 184, l. penult.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to this date cf. Weil, IV. 400, n. 2.

AḤMAD<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *Napkin on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

BOX, brass inlaid with silver, British Museum, London. Formerly collection of the Duc de Blacas.

On the lid an inscription surrounding a shield. Other shields below the rim of the lid.

مما عمل برسم العبد الفقير الرجى الغفران من الربّ المنان المهتار أحمد مهتار  
الأمير محمد بن ساطلمش الجلالى

*This is one of the objects made for the poor servant, hoping for forgiveness from the benevolent Lord, the Overseer Aḥmad, Overseer to the Amir Muḥammad b. Sāṭilmish al-Jalālī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, p. 230

AḤMAD B. BAKTAMUR<sup>2</sup>

Shi. Aḥmad, son of Baktamur, the cup-bearer, a favourite of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, became Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, apparently without having gone through the usual preliminary stages, died on his return from the pilgrimage in Muḥarram 733, about twenty years old.

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields red, on a middle field of unknown colour a red cup.*

BRONZE BASIN, Louvre, Paris, No. 3370. Originally in the possession of the Marchioness Arconati Visconti.

Three shields on the neck, one in the centre inside the basin.

المقرّ الكريم العالى المولوى الأمير الكبير الغازى المجا ○ هدى المرباطى المثارى  
العونى الذخرى الهامى الكفلى ○ الشهابى ولد المقرّ السيفى بكتمر الساقى الملكى  
○ الناصرى

*His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helper, the Treasure, the Shelter, the Viceroy, Shihāb ad-dīn, son of His Excellency Saif ad-dīn Baktamur, the cup-bearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether this blazon belonged to Aḥmad or to his master Muḥammad b. Sāṭilmish.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 186, l. 6; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, s.v. (MS. Oxford, Seld. Arch. A. 20, fo. 125<sup>r</sup>, v); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 21<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I. 166–7; Weil, IV. 378.



BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Migeon, *Musée du Louvre, L'Orient Musulman, Armes, &c.*, p. 26, No. 100.

### AḤMAD B. BURAQ<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *Pointed shield with close diaper pattern.*

COPPER BASIN, Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 3400. Pl. XLVII. 1.

Inscription intersected by four shields.

المقر الكريم العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری ا ۵ للملکی العالی العاملی الکافلی  
الغازی ۵ المجاهدی الرابطی المشغری المؤیدی العضدی ا ۵ الذخری المهدی الشهابی  
أحمد بن بر[ا]ق الملکی الناصری ۵

*His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Royal, the Learned, the Governing, the Viceroy, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped by God, the Supporter, the Treasure, the Administrator, Shihāb ad-dīn Aḥmad b. Burāq[?], (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### AḤMAD B. ISMA'ĪL AL-KUJUKĪ

BLAZON: *Fleur-de-lis on undivided shield.*

MAUSOLEUM, now occupied by Mawlawī Derwishes, Hims, to the north of the Serail. Pl. XIX. 4.

Inscription over the lintel, flanked by two shields.

(1) أنشأ هذه التربة المباركة العبد الفقير الحقير الذليل الراجي عفو ربّه القدير  
أحمد بن إسماعيل الكوجكي

(2) غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المسلمين ولن ترحم عنه ودعا له [المغفرة امين]  
بتأريخ شهر الله الحرم سنة احد وأربعين وثمان مائة

*Built this blessed mausoleum, the poor abject, submissive servant hoping for the pardon of his Mighty*

<sup>1</sup> The name of Aḥmad's father admits of three different readings, viz. براق, يراق and بريق, and in the case of an *involutio* also of براق and يراق.

Lord Aḥmad b. Isma'īl al-Kujukī, may God pardon him and his parents and all Muslims and whoever has mercy upon him and prays that his sins may be forgiven, Amen. In the month of Muḥarram of the year 841 (began 5th July 1437).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon mentioned and depicted in Uspenski, *Archeologičeski pamyatniki Siryi*, p. 140, fig. 31, where it is attributed to Crusaders.

### AḤMAD IBN AL-MAGHRIBĪ

BLAZON: On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup (possibly charged with a pen-box), on lower field a cup.

BRONZE DISH, in possession of Prof. Louis Massignon, Paris.

One shield in the centre of the plate.

Inscription on the rim.

(1) مِمَّا عَمِلَ بِرِسْمِ [المقرّر الأشرف] <sup>1</sup> (2) العالی المولوی الامیری الکبیری

(3) المخدمی الشهابی سیدی (4) أحمد ابن المغربی عزّ أنصاره

This is one of the objects made for His [Most Noble? and] High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, Shihāb ad-dīn Sīdī Aḥmad b. al-Maghribī, may his victories be glorious.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Louis Massignon, 'Six plats de bronze de style mamelouk' (in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale*, t. X), No. 6, p. 11 f. (of the offprint), pl. IV.

### AḤMAD AL-MIHMANDĀR <sup>2</sup>

Shi. Aḥmad b. Āqūsh al-'Azīzī, Commander of the Army (*naqīb al-jaish*) from the 29th Rabī' I 719 till 5th Rabī' II 727 (25th May 1319–28th February 1327), leader of the Mecca caravan (*amīr ar-rakb*) in Shawwāl 728 (began 9th August 1328), died on the 3rd Rajab 732 (31st March 1332). Built a *ḵhānqāh*, a madrasah, a bazaar-street, and a private house in Cairo, near his mausoleum, outside Bāb Zuwaila.

BLAZON: Upper and lower fields white, on a red middle field a white disk charged with a golden pointed shield.

<sup>1</sup> Restored by Massignon.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 149, l. 19, 169, l. 2, 178, l. 5 f., 179, l. penult., 185, l. 3, 227, l. 18; Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, pp. 399, l. 11 f., 418 b.

GLASS LAMP, Metropolitan Museum, New York. Previously in the collection Schefer, afterwards in that of Moore. Pl. XLI. 3.

Six shields, three on neck, three on the lower part of the body of the lamp.

Inscription on body (so far as it is visible on the photograph):

هذا ما [أحمد المهندار غفر الله له

*This is what [founded as a waqf . . . Aḥma]d, the mihmandār, may God forgive him.*

DATE: The date of Aḥmad's madrasa in Cairo,<sup>1</sup> most probably 725 (1324/5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, p. 437, No. 37, pl. 197, fig. 4.

Blazon depicted and described: Rogers, *Le Blason*, No. 27, p. 129, fig. 47. Lamp reproduced: Pier, *Saracenic Glass*, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 8; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, II. 105; Kühnel, *Islamische Kunst*, p. 466, fig. 484.

Mentioned: Lavoix, 'Galerie orientale du Trocadéro' (in *GBA.* t. XVIII, 1878), p. 780; Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles*, p. 158, No. 23.

## AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. IDRĪS

BLAZON: *On the upper field a napkin, on the middle field a pen-box, on the lower field a napkin.*

LUNCH-BOX (*maṭbaqiyya*) in the collection of F. T. Dallin, Esq., Chieveley, Newbury, Berks. Pl. LVII. 6.

On each of the three sections of the box, shields and medallions with inscriptions, the historical portion of which runs as follows:

صاحبه أحمد بن محمد بن إدريس

*Its owner is Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Idrīs.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## AḤMAD B. SHAIKH<sup>2</sup>

Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Abu-s-Sa'ādāt b. al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abī an-Naṣr Shaikh, succeeded his father to the throne the 9th Muḥarram 824 (15th January 1421) at the age of one year, eight months and seven days, deposed by Ṭaṭar, who ascended the throne the 29th Sha'bān of the same year (29th August 1421), and put Aḥmad into prison. Died of the plague the last day of Jumādā I 833 (24th February 1430).

<sup>1</sup> *Khitaṭ*, II, p. 399, l. 12; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 171-6; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, 2068, fo. 61<sup>v</sup>, 62<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, II. 10-13; Weil, V. 150, 157, 160, 161.

BLAZON: *Lion passant.*

COPPER COIN (*fil*s), once in the possession of Prince E. Windischgraetz, Vienna.

Obv. السلطان الملك ال... الدين أبو السعادات<sup>1</sup>

Within a circle:

أحمد

Rev.

ضرب

Lion passant

[بدمشق]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Karabacek, 'Zur orientalischen Münzkunde' (in *Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte*, 1867), No. 10, p. 7 (of the offprint).

## 'ALĀ' AD-DĪN ['ALĪ] AL-BARĪDĪ<sup>2</sup>

BLAZON: *Three-fielded shield.*

PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, locally known as the *Sabīl al-Barīdī*, Damascus, Rue el-Beridi, between Nos. 76 and 88, near the Jāmi' al-Barīdī. Pl. XLIV. 3.

The historical portion of the inscription, in the niche of the Sabīl, flanked by two shields, runs as follows:

القناة المباركة العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى علاء الدين [one word broken off]

البريدى [modern plaque]

[Perhaps: *Ordered to construct this*] *blessed aqueduct, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, 'Alā' ad-dīn . . . the dispatch-rider.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## 'ALĪ B. AḤMAD

BLAZON: *Cup on middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

COPPER BASIN. Sometime on offer in the Paris art market.  
Six shields.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic is only a re-translation from the German version given by Karabacek.

<sup>2</sup> On the cloth covering the cenotaph in the Jāmi' al-Barīdī and dated 1332 A.H. (1913/14), his name is given as 'ash-shaikh 'Alī al-Barīdī'. 'Alā' ad-dīn, together with Nūr ad-dīn being the most common surnames of 'Alī, this name presumably is based on a reliable tradition. Besides, in 1913/14, the modern slab was probably not yet in existence and the name 'Alī may have been visible in the inscription.

(1) مِمَّا عَمِلَ بِرِسْمِ الْمَوْلَا الْأَجَلِّ وَ (2) الْكَهْفِ الْإِضْلِ (sic) نَوْرُ الدِّينِ عَلِيٍّ

(3) ابْنِ الْعَبْدِ الْ[فَقِيرِ] إِلَى اللَّهِ أَحْمَدُ الرَّرِّي [Van Berchem]

*This is one of the objects made for the Most Magnificent . . . Lord Nūr ad-dīn ‘Alī, son of the servant yearning for God, Aḥmad of Tabrīz (?).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

‘ALĪ B. BISHĀRA

BLAZON: *Tamgha, emblem No. 24 facing to the left on undivided shield.*

MARBLE COLUMN, Gaza, small cemetery, locally known as ‘al-‘Awamīd’.  
Two shields above first line of text, emblems pointing in the same direction.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ

(2) كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ هَذَا قَبْرُ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى

(3) رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الرَّاجِي عَفْوِ اللَّهِ

(4) الشَّهِيدِ الْحَاجِّ نَوْرِ الدِّينِ عَلِيٍّ ابْنِ الْأَمِيرِ

(5) الْأَجَلِّ شَهَابِ الدِّينِ بَشَارَةَ ابْنِ خَرْمَشَاهِ [?] ابْنِ

(6) [ ] صِرَ السُّلُورِيُّ التُّرْكْمَانِيُّ تَوَفَّاهُ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ

(7) اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فِي الْخَامِسِ مِنْ شَهْرِ

(8) شَعْبَانَ الْمُبَارَكِ سَنَةِ أَرْبَعَةِ

(9) وَتَسْعِينَ وَثَمَانِيَةَ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ

(10) وَارْحَمِ مَنْ تَرَحَّمُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى

(11) جَمِيعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

*In the name of the most merciful God. Every soul shall taste death (Qur’ān XXI, 36 or XXIX. 57). This is the tomb of the one yearning for God’s mercy, hoping for forgiveness from God, the*

*martyr, the Mecca pilgrim Nūr ad-dīn ‘Alī, son of the most magnificent amir Shibāb ad-dīn Bishāra b. Khurramshāh (?) b. [ ]<sup>1</sup> as-Salūrī<sup>2</sup> the Turcoman. Passed into the mercy of God the Exalted on the fifth of the blessed month of Sha‘bān of the year 694 (20th June 1295), may God have mercy upon him, etc.*

As indicated above, my reading of the name of ‘Alī’s grandfather is doubtful. Above the first syllable *حر* there is a stroke which could be interpreted either as *ر* or as *بر*. If it really represents a letter, there are too many strokes for Khurramshāh; in any case there are not enough of them to make the word read *خوارزمشاه*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ‘ALĪ B. HILĀL AD-DAULA<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps identical with A. ‘Alī b. Hilāl ad-daula, a native of Shaizar, Inspector of Monuments (*shādd al-‘imāra*), supervised the repairs to the Haram in Mecca, in Shawwāl 727 (began 20th August 1327). On his return, appointed Superintendent of Chanceries (*shādd ad-dawāwīn*), which post he held up to the 5th Rajab 734 (12th March 1334), when his property was confiscated and he himself imprisoned in Alexandria. Released, on the intercession of Tankiz, died in his native town, the 23rd Rabī‘ II 739 (8th November 1338).

BLAZON: *Crescent without shield.*

LARGE PLATE. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XLII. 5.

The inscription, and the two emblems flanking it are a later addition. The original text is anonymous.

برسم العبد الفقير الى عفو مولاه على ابن هلال الدولة

*For the servant yearning for the forgiveness of his Lord ‘Alī b. Hilāl ad-daula.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### NŪR AD-DĪN [‘ALĪ] SON OF ‘IMĀD AD-DĪN

BLAZON: *Upper field blank (perhaps self-coloured), the united middle and lower fields bendy of six pieces. Pointed shield.*

<sup>1</sup> Or: [ ]dr.

<sup>2</sup> For Salghuri? Cf. Kāshgarī, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 188, l. 8, 199, l. 10 b; Ibn Baṭṭūta, II. 149; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 18<sup>r</sup>).

MOSQUE of ABU-L-FIDĀ’, Hama, locally known as ‘Jāmi’ al-Ḥayāya’. Pl. XX. 1. Inscription between two arches of the façade. First line flanked by two shields, the left one with bends sinister.

(1) ٥ جدد هذه الأقباء المباركة المقرّ العالي الملكي النورى ٥

(2) ولد المرحوم العمادى تغمده الله برحمته فى شهور سنة ستّة وسبعين

وسبعمائة

*Renewed these blessed arches His High Excellency, the Royal, Nūr ad-dīn, son of the late ‘Imād ad-dīn, may God cover him with his mercy, in the months of the year 776 (1374/5).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

The Nūr ad-dīn of this inscription is probably the son of ‘Imād ad-dīn Isma‘il b. al-Malik al-Afḍal Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Isma‘il (the famous historian Abu-l-Fidā’). Nūr ad-dīn being the most common complement of the name ‘Alī, I venture to assume that this is the way the name should be supplemented in our case. Isma‘il having died during the last ten days of Dhu-l-Ḥijja 758 (4th–13th December 1357),<sup>1</sup> Nūr ad-dīn was, in 776, surely of an age to carry out structural repairs in the mosque of his ancestors.<sup>2</sup>

### ‘ALĪ AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ<sup>3</sup>

‘A. ‘Alī al-Māridīnī, a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, came to Cairo in 728 (1327/8), was appointed Viceroy of Syria in 753 (began 6th February 1352), Governor of Aleppo in 759 (began 14th December 1357), Viceroy of Syria in 762 (1360/1), on al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha‘bān’s accession in 764 recalled to Egypt, Viceroy of Egypt in 770<sup>4</sup> (1368/9). Died in Cairo in 772 (1370/1).

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields red, on white middle field red napkin.*

<sup>1</sup> For his biography cf. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 169, l. 4 b; Ṣafadī, *Al‘yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 27<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 404; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 70<sup>v</sup>); Weil, IV. 402, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā states that Abu-l-Fidā’’s successor was Nūr ad-dīn ‘Alī فلما توفى الملك المؤيد فام (ed. Cheikho, Beyrouth, 1902) p. 147, ll. 2 ff., and then again الملك المؤيد إسماعيل وأما ولده الملك الأفضل علىٰ p. 148, l. 5 b, but this seems to be only a *lapsus calami* for al-Malik al-Afḍal Muḥammad.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 397, 404, 409, 421, 429; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2071, fo. 162<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I. 211, l. 22, 224–5, 226–7; Weil, IV. 494, 518; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 665.

<sup>4</sup> According to Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 421: in 769.

GLASS LAMP, Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 294, probably from the Mosque of Alṭun-  
bughā al-Māridīnī, Cairo.

Six shields.

Inscription on body of the lamp:

المقرّ الأشرف العالی | الکافلی | العلائی | المرحوم أمیر علی الماردانی

*His Most Noble and High Excellency, the Viceroy, 'Alā' ad-dīn, the late Amir 'Alī al-Māridānī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lavoix, 'La Galerie orientale du Trocadéro' (in *GBA.* 2<sup>e</sup> pér., t. XVIII, 1878, p. 779 f.); Rogers, p. 123, No. 19, fig. 39; Herz, *Catalogue*, Engl. ed., p. 302, fig. 59; *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 480, p. 665; Herz, 'Le Musée National du Caire' (in *GBA.* 3<sup>e</sup> pér., t. XXVIII, 1902), p. 502 f., fig.; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 42 f., pl. LXII.

Blazon reproduced: Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 314, fig. 70; Artin, *Contribution*, No. 206. Lamp reproduced: Le Bon, *Civilisation des Arabes*, pl.

Mentioned: Migeon, *Manuel*, 2nd ed., II, p. 135; Schmoranz, pp. 19, n., 69; Lamm, p. 469 f.

### 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD<sup>1</sup>

A. 'Alī son of Na. Muḥammad, succeeded his father as Governor of the Fortress of Šubaibiyya, repeatedly chamberlain (*ḥājib*) in Damascus, at one time Governor of Jerusalem. Died in Damascus, Muḥarram 809 (began 18th June 1406).

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on middle field a cup charged with a napkin displayed on the middle field of a three-fielded shield, on lower field a cup.*

MADRASA ŠUBAIBIYYA, Jerusalem. Pl. XLIII. 2.

Two shields flanking the lintel of the madrasa facing the Haram.<sup>2</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 229 f., fig. 38.

### 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD

Perhaps the son of Na. Muḥammad b. an-Nashāshībī (q.v.), who appears to be holding the same titles, office and an identical blazon, on an inscription in Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, pp. 390, l. 6, 609, l. 11 (Sauvaire, pp. 148, 269); *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 230 and n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The identity of this madrasa was established by van Berchem, l.c., pp. 228-230.



BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER PLATE tinned over. Present owner unknown.

مما عمل برسم الجناح العالی | المولوی السیدی علی ولد | المقرّ الناصری سیدی

محمد | أمير خازندار برقوق (?) أعزه الله [Van Berchem]

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, Sīdī 'Alī, son of His Excellency Nāṣir ad-dīn Sīdī Muḥammad, Grand Treasurer of Barqūq (?). May God give him strength.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AS-SADHFIL(?)

BLAZON: *On each of the ornamented upper and lower fields a napkin, on the middle field a pen-box.*

COPPER SAUCER tinned over, Messrs. N. Ohan & Sons, Jerusalem.

Heraldic shield set in an ornamented circle in the middle of the saucer. Round it an inscription intersected by two shields.<sup>1</sup>

مما عمل برسم علی ابن محمد ○ ابن السذفل<sup>2</sup> یرجو المغفرة

*This is one of the objects made for 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. as-Sadhfīl (?) who hopes for forgiveness.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### 'ALĪ B. SHA'BĀN<sup>3</sup>

Al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Alī, son of al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān, great-grandson of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, succeeded his father on the throne the 16th Dhu-l-Qa'da 778 (15th April 1378) as a child of less than eight. Died of the plague, the 23rd Ṣafar 783 (19th May 1381).

<sup>1</sup> These two shields are so carelessly drawn that the upper and lower fields are reduced to segments 1-2 mm. thick, leaving out the napkins engraved in the central blazon.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of this name, and consequently its transcription, is very doubtful. The *ṣīn* is established by a differentiating sign and there are two dots over the letters which I have transcribed as ن and ذ. Unfortunately, the resulting name cannot be identified.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 440, 453; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡm* (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 197<sup>v</sup> ff., 224<sup>v</sup>), *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2071, fo. 126<sup>v</sup>-127<sup>v</sup>) and s.v. Sha'bān; Ibn Iyās, cf. Index; Weil, IV. 529, 531 f., 540.

BLAZON: *Fleur-de-lis on undivided field.*

1. COPPER COIN (*fil*s), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*Obv.*: On the margin: السلطان الملك. In centre: على.

*Rev.*: Inscription on the margin illegible. In centre: Fleur-de-lis in a circle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. *Égypte et Syrie*, No. 927, p. 385, pl. VIII.

2. COPPER COIN, struck at Tripoli, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*Obv.*: Three-fielded circle:

ضرب دطر  
الملك المنصور  
ابلس

*Rev.*: Fleur-de-lis within hexagon inscribed in a circle, annulets in segments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lavoix, l.c., No. 930, p. 387, pl. VIII (and several variants).

## ALJĀY<sup>1,2</sup>

S. Aljāy b. 'Abdallāh al-Yūsufī, Grand Chamberlain (*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*), *amīr jandār*, from Shawwāl 768 to 10th Šafar 769 (June 1367–6th October 1367), in prison, on his release made Amir of a Hundred and appointed *amīr silāḥ barrānī*, made Commander-in-Chief (*atābak al-'asākīr*) in 774 (1372/3). Owing to quarrels over the property left by his wife, the mother of the Sultan, had several skirmishes with the amirs of the Sultan. Defeated and accidentally drowned in the Nile. Buried the 9th (or 10th) Muḥarram 775 (1st or 2nd July 1373).

BLAZON: *Cup on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

MADRASA of Aljāy, Cairo. Pl. XXIV. 1.

Inscription above the entrance gate intersected by an heraldic shield.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 435; Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, II, p. 399, ll. 18 ff. (2nd ed., IV, p. 249, ll. 6 ff.); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 76<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, obituaries s.a. 775 (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 186<sup>r</sup>, v), *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 8<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 220, ll. 7 b ff., 224, ll. 14, 17, 227, l. 5 b, 228, l. 8 ff.; Weil, IV, 521 f.; *ClA. Égypte*, I, 290 f.

<sup>2</sup> In Zettersteen, *Beiträge*, p. 185, l. 9, and *Nujūm*, s.a. 774 (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 182<sup>r</sup>, l. ult.), vocalized أَلجَاي.

(1) بسمه . . . امر بإنشاء هذا الجامع ○ والمدرسة المباركة المقر الأشرف الجاى  
أ(2) تابك العساكر المنصورة الملكى الأشرفى ○ غفر الله له ولجميع المسلمين بتاريخ شهر  
رجب سنة أربع وسبعين وسبعمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered to construct this Mosque and blessed school His Most Noble Excellency Aljāy, Commander-in-Chief of the victorious armies, (officer) of al-Malik al-Asbraf, may God forgive him and all Muslims. In the month of Rajab 774 (January 1373).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 188, p. 289 f.

### ‘ALLĀN AL-MU‘IZZĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a ‘pair of trousers’, on lower field a cup.*

COPPER BOWL with spout, tinned over. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. LXII. 7.

Inscription and four shields on exterior of bowl.

مما عمل برسم الجنازب العالى ○ . . . السيفى علان المعزى ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb) . . . Saif ad-dīn ‘Allān al-Mu‘izzī (?).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ALMALIK<sup>1</sup>

S. Almalik, a native of Abulustain,<sup>2</sup> bought by Baybars in 676 (1277), passed

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 136, l. 9, 156, l. ult., 222, l. penult., 226, l. 11; Abu-l-Fidā’, ed. Constantinople, IV, pp. 141, l. 19, 142, l. 7, 149, l. 8 b; Ibn al-Wardī, II, pp. 334, l. 18, 335, l. 10, 343, l. 12; Ibn Baṭṭūta, I. 50, 51, 374; II. 150; Ṣafādī, *A’yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 32<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 379, 384; *Khitāṭ*, I. 425 m; II. 310–11 (2nd ed., II. 280–1; IV. 108–9); *SM*, II b, pp. 123, 126, 284; Ibn Hajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 77<sup>r, v</sup>); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 18<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>v</sup>), and s.v. al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha‘bān (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 152<sup>r</sup>, ll. 10 ff.); Mujīr ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, pp. 376, l. 3, 390, l. 12, 393, l. 1; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 148, l. 10, 181–182, 184 t; Defrémery and Sanguinetti in Ibn Baṭṭūta, I. xxix f.; Weil, IV. 408, 422, 432, 434, 441, 456, 462, 463, 465 f.; *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 115, p. 170 f. and n. 4; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 267 f.

<sup>2</sup> Spelling indicated by Yāqūt, s.v.

into the service of Qalāūn, became polo-master (*jūkandār*) of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, by 708 at the latest had been dubbed amir.<sup>1</sup> On Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's accession to the throne appointed Governor of Hama, vice Sanjar al-Jāwli, recalled to Egypt by al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, in 744 (1343/4)<sup>2</sup> became Viceroy of Egypt, in Rabī' II 746 (August 1345) appointed Viceroy of Syria by al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān, vice Tuquztamur, but dismissed from office while on his way to Damascus, and appointed Governor of Safad, recalled to Egypt, arrested in Gaza by Arāq, Governor of that province, towards the close of the year 746 (April 1346) sent to Alexandria. Died as a nonagenarian in 747 (1346).<sup>3</sup>

BLAZON: *White polo-sticks on green field.*

1. GLASS LAMP, Çinili Köşk, Istanbul, once in the Monastery of the Mawlawi Derwishes at Konia.

Two shields on neck.

Inscription on body:

<sup>1</sup> A word should be said with regard to the spelling of the name الملك. Scribes of both literary texts and inscriptions have very often separated the two components of this name, and in a number of cases they have set a *madda* over the *alif* to make it clear that in this case ال was not to be mistaken for the article. Consequently the name has been transcribed Almulk or Al Mulk (Weil, IV. 408, 416, 422 and *passim*, Quatremère, *SM*. II b, 284); Ālmalik or Āl-Malik (Ravaisse, 'Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire', *MMAF*. III. 77 and *passim*; *CIA*. *Égypte*, I. 170-4; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 95), and by other European scholars.

In his last work van Berchem (*CIA*. *Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 267) adopted the transcription Yl-malak, laying stress on the assertion of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, I. 50-1) that the proper spelling of the name was Yalmalak, and that he was wrongly called Almalik by the plebs (والعامّة تقول فمد). But this cannot be considered the very last word on the subject. Ṣafadī, himself a member of the Mamluk society and well versed in Turkish, a historian who made a point of indicating the orthography of the Turkish names in his biographical dictionaries and who is surely a more reliable guide in point of spelling Mamluk names than the Maghrebin traveller, says *expressis verbis* that the spelling of this name is Almalik (*A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 32<sup>v</sup>, and MS. Aya Sofia)). Besides, it is by no means established beyond doubt, that these two persons are identical. The amir whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met at Mecca was a page in the bodyguard of the Sultan (*khāṣṣakī*), whereas Almalik was a polo-master (*jūkandār*). Despite the fact that both offices were court-offices of the lower grades, and the term *khāṣṣakī* was sometimes used in a more general sense, it is inadmissible to suppose that all the junior court-officers, such as cup-bearers, polo-masters, armour-bearers, secretaries, junior treasurers, &c., were called *khāṣṣakī*. Cf. also p. 87, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 335, l. 10: in Muḥarram 743 (began 6th June 1342).

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 384, speaks of his death under the events of the year 746, according to Ibn Ḥajar Almalik died either by the end of 746 or in 747, according to others on the 19th Jumādā II 747 (7th October 1346).

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالى | المولوى الأميرى | الكبيرى المحترمى | المخدمى  
السيفى سيف | الدين الملك | الجوكندار الملكى [لناصرى]

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Honoured, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Almalik, the polo-master of al-Malik an-Nāṣirī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 269, nn. 5, 6 and p. 270, fig. 47.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 157, No. 18; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 431 f., No. 18.

2. GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 312.

Three shields on neck, three others on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on neck:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالى السيفى الملك الناصرى

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Almalik an-Nāṣirī.*

Date: Almalik's mosque in Cairo was founded in 719 (1319).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmoranz, p. 58, pl. xxiv; Herz, *Catalogue*, p. 292, *Musée National*, p. 502, fig.; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 270, n.; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 67 f., pl. x.

Reproduced: Devonshire, *L'Egypte Musulmane*, pl. XXIII; Lamm, pl. 198.

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, fig. 160, p. 132 (without attribution).

Mentioned: Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II, p. 134; Lamm, p. 431, No. 17.

3. MADRASA ALMALIKIYYA, Jerusalem.

Inscription over the middle pillar of the portico, flanked by two shields.

The essential portion runs as follows:

(1) . . . تقرب بعمارة هذا المكان المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الحاج ال

ملك (2) الجوكندار الملكى الناصرى . . . وكان الفراغ (3) منه فى شهر الله المحرم

غرة عام أحد وأربعين وسبع مائة من الهجرة النبوية . . .

*Approached (God) by building this blessed place, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, the pilgrim Almalik, the polo-master, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir . . . This was finished during the month of Muḥarram, the beginning of the year 741 of the Hijra of the Prophet (27th June 1340).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 266 ff., fig. 46, pl. LXV (left).

4. SAME BUILDING. In each of the four corners of a panel over the entrance door a shield. Pl. XLIV. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

5. COPPER PLATE tinned over, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3757. Pl. XXVI. 1.

Inscription intersected by four shields.

المقرّ العالی الموائى الاميرى الكبيرى ٥ السيفى المالك كافل الما ٥ لك  
الشريفة الاسلامية عز نصره ٥

*His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Almalik, Viceroy of the noble Islamic provinces, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

6. SLAB OF MARBLE, badly damaged, now embedded in the façade of the ruined shrine of Sh. Aḥmad al-'Urainī at 'Arāq al-Manshiyyeh, Palestine. Obviously not in situ.

(1) بسمه . . . (2) ٥ فزع يومئذ آمنون . . .  
(3) الفقير الى ربه ال ملك الجوكندار[ر] . . .

*In the name of the most merciful God. [Whoever shall have wrought righteousness shall receive a reward beyond the desert thereof; and] they shall be secure from the terror of that day (Qur'an XXVII. 91) . . . yearning for His Lord, Almalik, the polo-master of al-[Malik an-Nāṣir].*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ALTUNBUGHĀ AL-'ALĀ'Ī<sup>1</sup>

A. Altunbughā, Grand Chamberlain, in Rajab 714 appointed Governor of Aleppo, which he entered early in Sha'bān (began 10th November 1314), recalled to Egypt in 727<sup>2</sup> (1326/7); returned to Aleppo as Governor early in 731 (1330), on the 13th Jumādā I 739 (27th November 1338), appointed

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 147, ll. 14-16, 162, ll. 4-7, 172, l. 7 f., 176, l. 11, 177, l. 20 f., 183, l. 1 f., 188, l. 22, 199, l. 9, 200, l. 4, 213, l. 10; Safadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 30<sup>r</sup>, v); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 76<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 11<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>); Weil, IV, cf. Index, especially pp. 382, 421, 428-31, 441, Ṭabbākh, *A'lām* II. 369 ff., IV. 573 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Manbal*, l.c. fo. 11<sup>v</sup>, l. 5, appointed Viceroy of Syria.

Governor of Gaza; succeeded Tankiz as Viceroy of Syria, entered Damascus the 6th Muḥarram 741 (2nd July 1340). Strangled in the prison of Alexandria in Shawwāl or Dhu-l-Qa'da 742 (March–April 1342). Built a mosque at Aleppo.

BLAZON: *Two polo-sticks.*

وكان رنك المنفصل [i.e. Alṭunbughā] جوكاين

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Constantinople, IV. p. 132, l. 18; Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 324, l. 7b.

### ALṬUNBUGHĀ AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ<sup>1</sup>

A. Alṭunbughā b. 'Abdallāh al-Māridīnī an-Nāṣirī, *kebāssakī* and cup-bearer of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, dubbed Amir of Ten, rose in a short time to the rank of Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, imprisoned in Ṣafar 742 (began 17th July 1341), released on Kujuk's accession to the throne, in Rabī' I 743 appointed Governor of Hama and about two months later, Governor of Aleppo. Died on the 1st Ṣafar 744 (25th June 1343), less than twenty-five years of age.

BLAZON: *Upper field red, on white lower field (united middle and lower fields) red cup.*

1. GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, Nos. 4065, 5880-2 (built up of four fragments).

Five, originally nine, shields.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body:

المقر العالی العلائی الطنبغا الساقی الناصری

*His High Excellency 'Alā' ad-dīn Al[ṭunbugh]ā, cup-bearer of (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes et Bouteilles*, p. 131 f., pl. IX.

Mentioned: *CR.* 1914, fasc. 31, pp. 70-1; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 440 f.

2. BRONZE REVETMENT, fragments. Arabic Museum, Cairo, Nos. 3105, 3106, originally from the Mosque of Alṭunbughā in Cairo. Pl. XXI. 1. 2.

Two shields in the centre of convex stars. Cup inlaid in red copper.

<sup>1</sup> Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 30<sup>v</sup>, 31<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, II, 378, 379; *Zubdah*, pp. 29, 31; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 308, ll. 25 ff. (2nd ed., IV, p. 105, ll. 12 ff.); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 76<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 14<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 181, l. 7 b; Weil, IV, cf. Index, especially pp. 453, 460; *CIA. Égypte*, I, 192 and n. 3, 665.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mentioned: *CR.* 1905, fasc. 22, p. 124, n. 1; Herz, *Descriptive Catalogue of the objects exhibited in the National Museum of Arab Art*, p. 197, Nos. 23-5, fig. 37.

3. POTSHERD, Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 5106. Pl. VI. 4.

Inscription to the left of the shield, half of which has been broken off.

... العلائی الطنبغا السافی الملکی الذی اصرى ...

'*Alā*' *ad-dīn* *Altunbughā*, the cup-bearer of *al-Malik an-N[ā]sir* ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ALTUNBUGHĀ B. YŪSUF<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *Six-petalled rosette without shield.*

FOUNDATION TEXT, slab of limestone, now abandoned near the bridge at Hama, opposite the Hotel d'Oronte.

Inscription flanked by two blazons:

(1) بِسْمِله ... أَنشَأَ هَذِهِ التَّرْبَةَ الْمُبَارَكَةَ الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى الرَّاجِي رَحْمَةً

رَبِّهِ الطَّنْبَغَا ابْنُ الْأَمِيرِ الْمَرْحُومِ جَمَالِ الدِّينِ يَوْسُفَ

(2) ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الصَّالِحِي الْمَعِينِي نَائِبُ السُّلْطَانَةِ الْمُعْظَمَةِ بِقَلْعَةِ الْبَيْرَةِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ

بِتَارِيخِ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْفَرْدِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَعِشْرِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

*In the name of the most merciful God. Founded this blessed mausoleum the servant yearning for God the Exalted, desiring the mercy of his Lord, Altunbughā, son of the late amir Jamāl ad-*

<sup>1</sup> Rare as it is to find among mamluks a man with a Turkish name, whose father's name was Arabic, the case of *Altunbughā* is not without parallel, cf. Sultan Kujuk b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, Ānūk b. Muḥammad, Uzdāmūr b. 'Alī Bāy, A'uzlū b. Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭawīl, &c. Names such as Tanām b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq or Bukhshbāy b. 'Abd al-Karīm are not cases in point, 'Abd ar-Razzāq and 'Abd al-Karīm being in this instance presumably just as fictitious as the more popular 'Abdallāh. Sometimes one son was given a Turkish name, whilst the others had Arabic ones, cf. e.g. the sons of al-Āqūsh, viz. Saif ad-dīn Kujkun, Nāsir ad-dīn Muḥammad, Zain ad-dīn Amīr Ḥājj, Ghars ad-dīn Khalīl (*A'yān*, s.v. Muḥammad b. Āqūsh, MS. Berlin, fo. 127<sup>r</sup>). On the other hand, we know of dignitaries of Arabic origin, who changed their Arabic into Turkish names, e.g. the two brothers Taghrībirmish and Ḥasan-shāh whose original names were Ḥusain b. Aḥmad and Ḥasan b. Aḥmad respectively (*Manḥal*, s.v. Taghrībirmish, MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 130<sup>r</sup>), cf. also the Circassian Ḥājj Khalīl who changed his name into Qānibāy (*Daw'* s.v. Qānibāy al-Yūsufī al-mihmandār).



*dīn Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh as-Ṣāliḥī al-Mu'īnī* (or: *al-Mughīthī*), Governor of the August Sultanate in the fortress of *al-Bīreh*, may God have mercy upon him, in the month of Rajab the Unique of the year 723 (6th July–4th August 1323).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

# ĀNŪK<sup>1</sup>

S. Ānūk, the favourite son of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, born in Rajab 721 (began 27th July 1321), became Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, whereas his brothers ranked as Amirs of Forty only. Died in Rabī' I 740 (began 6th September, 1339).

BLAZON: *The arms of his grandfather Qalāūn.*<sup>2</sup>

كان يحمل رنك جدّه المنصور (قلاون)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 33<sup>v</sup>, l. 17) quoted in *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 24<sup>r</sup>); Quatremère, *SM*. II a, p. 15; Rogers, p. 98.

# ĀQBIRDĪ B. 'ALĪBĀY<sup>2</sup>

S. Āqbirdī b. 'Alībāy, originally a mamluk of Qāyṭbāy, became *amīr silāḥ*, in 886<sup>3</sup> succeeded Yashbak min Mahdī as Grand Dāwādar, in Dhu-l-Qa'da 891 (November 1486) appointed Vezier, in 897 appointed Major-domo, deposed the 26th Dhu-l-Qa'da 901 (6th August 1496), in Rajab 902 reinstalled in all the offices he previously held. Two months later headed a civil war; several times defeated, having capitulated in Ramaḍān 904 was appointed Governor of Tripoli. Died the 3rd Dhu-l-Qa'da 904 (12th June 1499), less than fifty years old.

BOWL. In the possession of Messrs. J. Sassoon, London. Pl. LXII. 1. Inscription intersected by six shields on the outside of the bowl.

<sup>1</sup> *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 33<sup>v</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 78<sup>v</sup>); *Manḥal*, l.c., Weil, IV. 370, 403–405.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, especially II. pp. 202, l. 5 b, 239, l. 3 b, 277, l. 4 b., 319, l. 6 ff., 358, l. 21 ff., 359, l. 4 ff.; Ibn Ṭulūn, esp. 73 [12], ll. 5, penult., 71 [12], l. 26, 64 [21], ll. 14, 18; Weil V. cf. Index; *CIA. Égypte I*. p. 457 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, p. 202, l. 5 b: 4th Muḥarram 886, p. 359, l. 10: 887.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالی ا ○

مولوی الأمیری الکبیری المالکی العالی العادل المجاهدی الم رابطی المثاری ○

السیدی السندی الذخری المخدمی ا ○ لسینی آقبردی أمير دوادار کبیر ومدبر

المالک ○ الشریفة الإسلامیة المالکی الأشرفی عزّ نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Royal, the Learned, the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Master, the Treasure, the Well-served, Saif ad-dīn Āqbirdī, Grand Amir Dawādār, Regent of the Noble Islamic provinces, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## 2. HEAD OF A STANDARD, Treasury, Istanbul.

Inscription intersected by five shields.

○ المقرّ الأشرف الکريم العالی المولوی الأمیری ○ الکبیری الأجلی المحترمی

السیدی السندی ○ المالکی المخدمی السینی آقبردی أمير دوادار کبیر وما مع

ذلك ○ وقرب المقام الشریف السلطان المالکی الأشرف أبو النصر قايتباي ○

*His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Most Magnificent, the Honoured, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Āqbirdī, Grand Amir Dawādār, and what goes with it, and a relative of His Majesty the Sultan, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu-n-Naṣr Qāyībāy.*

On the shaft, below the head, there is another short inscription, mentioning Āqbirdī's name and title.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

# ĀQBUGHĀ MIN 'ABD AL-WĀḤID<sup>1</sup>

A.<sup>2</sup> Āqbughā b. 'Abdallāh min 'Abd al-Wāḥid an-Nāṣirī, originally a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, then his *jamdār*, later appointed Inspector of Buildings (*shādd al-'amā'ir*), became Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand. Appointed major-domo, Tuesday, the 26th Muḥarram 732 (29th October 1331), Chief of the Sultanian Mamluks and *Amīr Manẓil*, thus accumulating five offices, all of which he held until al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad arrested him, the 30th Muḥarram 742 (16th July 1341), put him into prison, and confiscated his possessions. Under Kujuk, Āqbughā was released by Qauṣūn and sent to Damascus. Made Governor of Hims by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn,<sup>3</sup> an appointment which he held until Jumādā II 743 (November 1342). He then proceeded as Commander of a Thousand to Damascus, where he remained until Shawwāl 743 (March 1343), when he was again arrested and sent first to Cairo and then to Alexandria. Executed in 744 (1343-4). His house stood in the vicinity of the Jāmi' al-Azhar, where he also built his madrasah.

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields white, on red middle field a white napkin.*

1. LAMP, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 1056-69, formerly collection Meymar.

Six shields.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 36, intersected by three shields.

Inscription on body.

مَمَّا عَمِلَ بِرِسْمِ الْجَنَابِ | الْعَالِيِ الْمَوْلَى | الْأَمِيرِ الْكَبِيرِ |  
السَّيْفِي سَيْفُ الدِّينِ | آقْبَا عَبْدِ الْوَاحِدِ | الْمَلِكِي النَّاصِرِي |

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Āqbughā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nesbitt, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Glass Vessels in the South Kensington*

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 148, l. 9, 224, l. 17; Şafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 28<sup>r</sup>); Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, pp. 48, l. 8, 116, l. 9, 384, l. 14 b-386 l. 1 (2nd ed., IV, pp. 225, l. 3 b-228, l. 3); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 73<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 203<sup>r,v</sup>); Weil, IV. 365 f., 377, 404 f., 414 f.; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 186, 189 and n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In inscriptions called *Saif ad-dīn*, cf. also *CIA. Égypte*, I. 183, 185-6, 187, 188.

<sup>3</sup> *Durar*, s.v. (l.c., l. penult.): by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Kujuk.

*Museum*, p. 36 f., pl. VIII (frontispiece); Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, pp. 256–58, fig. 93.

Blazon mentioned and reproduced in: Schmoranz, *Old Oriental Gilt and Enamelled Glass Vessels*, fig. 14, pp. 18 n., 19 n., 69; P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 5, p. 10. Mentioned: Kahle, 'Islamische Schattenspielfiguren' (in: *Islam*, II. 190 f., 192, n. 1); van Berchem, 'Notes d'archéologie arabe' (in: *Journal Asiatique*, 1904, I. 78 f.); Artin, *Contribution*, p. 127, No. 203; Migeon, *Manuel*, 2nd ed., II, p. 134; Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé*, p. 160, No. 31; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 440, No. 47 (both with rich literature).

2. HEMISPHERICAL VASE of bell-metal, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 576–97. Pl. XXX. 2, 3.

Inscription intersected by four shields.

المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری (B) الغازی المجاہدی المراطی الشاغر  
 المؤ(AB)یدی الذخری العونی الغیائی المخدمی السیفی آقبا (AB) أستاذ الدار العالیة الملکی  
 الناصری عز نصره (AB)

*His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped (by God), the Treasure, the Helper, the Rescuer, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Āqbughā, Major-domo of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may his victory be glorious.*

On the shields marked (A) traces of the original shield are still left, on the others (B) the superimposed blazon is seen, consisting of a two-fielded shield, upper field white (silver inlay), on lower field (united middle and lower fields) red cup.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, III. p. 79; Kahle, *Islamische Schattenspielfiguren*, p. 190 f.

Although the belongings of Āqbughā were disposed of by public sale,<sup>1</sup> and the names of the buyers have not been handed down, I venture to suggest that the superimposed blazon is that of Qauṣūn, who, twice having played an important role in the life of Āqbughā—once interceding on his behalf when his property was confiscated, and later on using his influence in obtaining a pardon for him from Sultan Kujuk—might easily have acquired or been presented with a part of Āqbughā's possessions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maqrīzī, *Khitāṭ*, II, p. 384, l. 8 b (2nd ed., IV, p. 226, ll. 5 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Maqrīzī, l.c., p. 385 m (2nd ed., IV, p. 227 t).

# ĀQBUGHĀ AṬ-ṬULŪTUMRĪ<sup>1</sup>

A. Āqbughā b. 'Abdallāh aṭ-Ṭulūtumrī az-Zāhirī, nicknamed al-Lakkāsh, a mamluk of Barqūq, made by his master Amir of Ten, then Amir of Forty, Ra's naubah, and finally Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand. On 29th Jumādā I 800 (17th February 1398) nominated *amir majlis*, in 801 (1398/9) appointed Governor of Kerak, but on his way to Kerak<sup>2</sup> arrested and put into the prison of Qal'at aṣ-Ṣubaiba. By the end of Dhu-l-Ḥijja of the same year (August 1399), he joined Tanam in his rebellion against Faraj. Kept Gaza from Rabī' I till Rajab 802 (November 1399–March 1400). After Tanam's defeat near Jītīn, he was arrested and imprisoned, and executed at Damascus on 14th Sha'bān 802 (10th April 1400).

BLAZON: *Upper field two napkins, middle field a cup, lower field a cup.*

MOSQUE OF IBN 'UTHMĀN, Gaza.

Inscription over the lintel of the western entrance door.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ

(2) بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ أَمْرٌ بِإِثْنَاءِ هَذَا الْجَامِعِ (؟)

(3) الْمُبَارَكِ الْمُقَرَّرِ الْأَشْرَفِ ○ الْعَالِيِ الْمَوْلَوِي السَّيْدِي

(4) الْمَالِكِي الْمَخْدُومِي الْعِلَائِيِ أَقْبَغَا الطُولُوتُمَرِي الْمَلِكِي (١)

(5) النَّاصِرِي أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ بِتَأْرِخِ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْفَرْدِ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ

*In the name of the most merciful God. He only shall visit the temples of God, who believeth in*

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 20, l. 13 (A's fief); Ibn Ḥajar, *Ta'rīkh*, s.a. 802 A.H. (MS. Br. Mus. Add. 7321, fo. 115<sup>v</sup>, 116<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdi, *an-Nujūm*, VI, pp. 11, l. 15, 20, l. 15, 33, l. 6, 36, l. 10, 37, l. 5, 39, l. 18, 146, ll. 6–11; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 203<sup>v</sup>, 204<sup>r</sup>); as-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw' al-lāmi'*, s.v. (MS. Damascus, Zāhiriyyah-Library); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 308, l. 11, 312, ll. 5, 9, 10, penult. and ult., 313, l. 1, 322, ll. 7 b, 3 b, 323, l. 10, 324, l. 14 b. L. A. Mayer, 'Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza. II' (in: *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, V, 1925, p. 64 ff.), and 'Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza. III' (ib., IX, 1929, p. 219, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> According to as-Sakhāwī, l.c., he was appointed Governor of Gaza and arrested on his way there. According to Ibn Iyās he was imprisoned in aṣ-Ṣalibah. الصليبة and الصليبة are very similar in Arabic script and the former is probably only a graphic variant.

*God and the Last Day* (Qur'ān IX. 18). *Ordered to build this blessed Mosque, His most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, 'Alā' ad-dīn Āqbughā at-Ṭulūtumrī, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may God make his victories glorious. In the month of Rajab the Unique of the year 802 (27th February-27th March 1400).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. A. Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza. II*, pp. 64 ff.

## ĀQSUNQUR<sup>1</sup>

Sh. Āqsunqur an-Nāṣirī, for a time Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's Master of the Hunt (*amīr shikār*), made Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand. On al-Malik an-Nāṣir Aḥmad's accession to the throne, offered the post of a Superintendent of the Stables (*amīr akbūr*), which he declined. Sent as Governor to Gaza, where he stayed till al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl recalled him to Cairo and appointed him Superintendent of the Stables. Early in Shawwāl 744 (began 16th February 1344) became Governor of Tripoli, a post he held till Rabī' II 746 (August 1345). On his return to Cairo lived as one of the most important amirs at court, organized the plot against al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān. Killed in Rabī' II 748 (began 11th July 1347).

BLAZON: *Upper field self-coloured, on red middle field a white cup, lower field white.*

GLASS LAMP, from the Āqsunqur Mosque, now in the Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 3202/1-3.

Originally six shields, three of them intersecting the inscription on the neck, and three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on the body, text as restored by Wiet:

مما عمل برسم العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى اقس[ن]قر ال[ن]اصرى الملك[ى] المظفرى  
... عزّ أنص[اره].

*This is one of the objects made for the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Āqsunqur an-Nāṣirī, (officer) of al-Malik [al-Muẓaffar . . . may his vict]ories [be glorious].*

DATE: The mosque having been finished in 748 (1347), the lamp is probably of the same date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *Catalogue*, p. 294, No. 6; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 124 f., pl. XIV.

Mentioned: CR. 1904, fasc. 21, p. 75; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 448, No. 80.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 379; Ṣafādī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 28<sup>v</sup>); *Manḥal* s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fos. 207<sup>v</sup>-208<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, especially pp. 185, l. 16, 187, ll. 13-19.

## ĀQTURAQ

BLAZON: *Sword displayed diagonally on a three-fielde shield.*

MOSQUE, locally known as as-Saqraqiyya, Tripoli.

Inscription on both sides of entrance gate, on the lintels of each pair of windows, a heraldic shield.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . وقف الجناح الكريم السيفي آقترك الحاجب هذا المكان المبارك مسجدًا  
لله تعالى وتربةً للدفن النخ

. . . *His Honourable Excellency* (janāb), *Saif ad-dīn Āqturaq, the chamberlain* (hājib) *piously founded this blessed spot as a mosque for God the Exalted and as a mausoleum for burial, &c.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, No. 49, p. 109, pl. XI.

ĀQŪSH GOVERNOR OF KERAK<sup>1</sup>

J. Āqūsh b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ashrafī, an Egyptian amir, nicknamed al-Burnāq, originally a mamlūk of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil b. Qalāūn,<sup>2</sup> Governor of Kerak from 690 to the middle of Shawwāl 708 (4th January–23rd December 1291, to the end of March 1309); Viceroy of Syria from Jumādā I 711<sup>3</sup> to Rabī’ I 712 (15th September–14th October 1311 to the 9th July 1312). Following the appointment of Tankiz as Viceroy of Syria, Āqūsh was put in prison where he stayed until the 20th Rajab 715 (20th October 1315). On his release he was appointed *ra’s al-maimana* and later Inspector of the Māristān. In Rabī’ I 734 (which began 10th November 1333), he was

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beitrage*, cf. Index, especially p. 81, l. penult., 136, l. 13, 141, l. 15, 156, l. 9, 157, l. ult., 163, l. 18, 187, l. 19, 189, l. 13, 191, l. 8; Ibn al-Wardī, II, pp. 261, ll. 6, 17, 309, l. 1; Šafadī, *Tuhfa* (MS. Paris, Ar. 5827, fo. 198<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, 359, 363; Qalqashandī, *Subh*, XII. 12–16 (Letter of Appointment as Viceroy of Syria); Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II 55, l. 9 ff. (ed. Cairo 1325 A.H., III. 88 f.); *Sulūk*, SM. II 2, especially pp. 129, II b. 286; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 74<sup>v</sup>–75<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghrī-birdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fos. 5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 151, l. 6 b; Weil, cf. Index; Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, *Some Dated Objects in Mr. Ralph Harari’s Collection*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar, l.c., he was originally a mamluk of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāūn. Al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil appointed him Governor of Kerak.

<sup>3</sup> This is the date given by Qalqashandī. According to Zetterstéen, l.c., p. 156, Āqūsh was given the robe of honour, the distinctive sign of his appointment, on Saturday, 2nd Jumādā II.

appointed Governor of Tripoli. In 735 he was arrested by Tankiz and imprisoned, first in the fortress of Damascus, then in the Tower of Safad, and finally in Alexandria, where he died on the 7th of Jumādā I 736 (23rd December 1335). Built a mosque in the Ḥusainiyya Quarter, Cairo.

BLAZON: *White falcon (? Griffin-vulture) on undivided round shield.*

1. BRASS PLATE. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XV.

Inscription intersected by three shields. Falcon (? griffin-vulture) looking to the right.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی العالی العادلی ا ○ المجاهدی المرباطی المثارى المظفری  
النصوری ○ الجمالی جمال الدین آقش<sup>1</sup> نائب السلطنة بالکرك المحروس

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, the Learned, the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Victorious, Jamāl ad-dīn Āqūsh, Governor of the protected Kerak.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned and reproduced: Devonshire, l.c., p. 125, fig. VII.

2. COPPER STAND FOR A TRAY, lower half, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XV.

Inscription intersected by three shields. Falcon (? griffin-vulture) looking to the left.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الشریف العالی ○ الجمالی نائب السلطنة ا ○ العظمة  
بالکرك المحروس

*This is one of the objects made for His Noble and High Excellency Jamāl ad-dīn, Governor of the August Sultanate in the protected Kerak.*

Although the inscription contains neither name nor date, there cannot be the least doubt with regard to the attribution of this stand, not only because of the identical blazon and surname (Jamāl ad-dīn), but also because Āqūsh was usually called 'Jamāl ad-dīn, Governor of Kerak', or simply 'the Governor of Kerak'.<sup>2</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Devonshire, l.c., p. 125.

<sup>1</sup> Same defective spelling in Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar al-kāmina* (MS. British Museum) and in Sobernheim, *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, p. 45, n. 2, in a passage quoted from Nuwairī.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the literature quoted p. 71, n. 1.



## ĀQŪSH AL-BURUNLĪ

BLAZON: *Six-petalled rosette without shield.*

MAUSOLEUM, to the north of Kafr Sīb, near Tul Karm, marked 'Amād ed-Dīn' on the map of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Sheet XI. K. m..

Inscription embedded in the northern side of the gable-roof of the cenotaph, two shields forming the fifth line of the text.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . (2) يَبْشِرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ (3) وَرِضْوَانٍ هَذَا قَبْرُ الْفَقِيرِ

(4) إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْأَمِيرِ الْغَازِي (5) ○ ○ (6) جَمَالُ الدِّينِ آقُوشُ الْبُرْلِيِّ

(7) تَوَفَّى فِي مُسْتَهْلٍ جَمَادَى (8) الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَسِتِّينَ وَتَمَائَةِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ

*In the name of the most merciful God. Their Lord sendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and good will (Qur'ān IX. 21). This is the tomb of the one yearning for God's mercy the Amīr, the Vanquisher, Jamāl ad-dīn Āqūsh al-Burī. Passed away on the 1st Jumādā I of the year 668 (27th December 1269). May God have mercy upon him.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

ARGHŪN AL-'ALĀ'Ī<sup>2</sup>

S. Arghūn al-'Alā'ī, stepfather of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, Isma'īl and al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān, Chief of the Corps of jamdārs under al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, sent by Qauṣūn to Safad, shortly afterwards returned to Egypt, imprisoned in Alexandria by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī. Died in 748 (1347/8).<sup>3</sup> Built a *kuttāb as-sabīl* at the gate of the Māristān and a khānqāh in Cairo.

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields golden, on a red middle field a golden napḳin.*

<sup>1</sup> The letters, squeezed into the end of the line, seem to allow only for الرى which stands probably for البرلى al-Burī, cf. the transcription of this name in Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 22<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 385; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 65<sup>v</sup>); *Manhal* s.v. Arghūnshāh (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 159<sup>r</sup>, l. 5 b); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 184, l. 9 b, 8 b, 185, ll. 7, 13, 17; Weil, IV, cf. Index, especially pp. 469, 473.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn Ḥabīb, l.c., in 747.

GLASS GLOBE, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., No. 12-61.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأ ○ شرف العالي المخدمي ○ السيفي أرغون ○ العلاني عز

[Kühnel] ○ لله أنصاره [1]

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, the Well-Served Saif ad-dīn Arghūn al-‘Alā’ī, may God make his victories glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, X, August 1912, No. 58, p. 29; Martinovitch, ‘A Glass Globe of Arghūn’ (in *Eastern Art Annual*, vol. II, 1930, p. 245, pl. CXXXVI.)

Reproduced: *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 16th ed., Nov. 1923, p. 98.

Mentioned: Migeon, *Manuel*, 2nd ed., II. 126, 137, 142; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 165, No. 55.

Mentioned and reproduced: Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 447 f., pl. 196, fig. 3.

Referred to in F.V.P., ‘Oriental Glass’ (in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, December 1910, Nos. 50-1) with the following translation of the text: One of those made by the great, the exalted al-Naki, el-Arjawan: the glory be to God.

## ARGHŪN AL-KĀMILĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Arghūn b. ‘Abdallāh aṣ-Ṣaghīr (‘the small one’), originally mamluk of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma‘īl, later on of al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha‘bān, made Amir of a Hundred by the latter. Tuesday, 15th Rajab 750 (29th September 1349), appointed Governor of Aleppo, thence transferred as Governor to Damascus,<sup>2</sup> which he entered on Monday, 11th Sha‘bān 752 (3rd October 1351), and again of Aleppo 752 (1352/3).<sup>3</sup> Deposed in 755 (1354), arrested in Cairo, imprisoned at Alexandria in 756 and exiled to Jerusalem, where, at the age of about thirty, he died on the 28th Shawwāl 758 (14th October 1357).

BLAZON: *Napḳin on middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

<sup>1</sup> Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 23<sup>v</sup>. ff.), *al-Wāfi*, s.v., *Tuhfa* (MS. Paris, Ar. 5827, fo. 220<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 391, 395, 397, 399, 404; Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, p. 177, l. 15; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 73, ll. 11-30 (2nd ed., III, p. 118, l. 10-p. 119, l. 4); Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 65<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, p. 160<sup>v</sup> f.); Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, pp. 383, l. 8, 388-9, 392, l. penult., 559, l. 15, 644, l. 6, 693, l. 8 b. (Sauvage, pp. 134, 145 f., 154); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 195, l. 11, 8 b, 201, l. 5 ff.; Weil, IV. 484, 492, 495; *CIA. Egypte*, I, pp. 200, n. 2, 219, 220; van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften* (Oppenheim), p. 51; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, pp. 281 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn Iyās, I, p. 195, l. 11, appointed Governor of Egypt, a detail not confirmed by any other historian.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar, l.c.: in Ramaḍān 753; according to Ibn Iyās I 201, l. 5: in 754.

1. HOSPITAL, Aleppo, near the Qinnasrīn Gate.

Four shields in the bottom row of the stalactites of the portal.

Inscription immediately underneath the stalactites.

بِسْمِهِ مَنْ جَاءَ بِالْحَسَنَةِ فَلَهُ عَشْرُ أَمْثَالِهَا أَمْرٌ بِإِنشَاءِ هَذَا الْبِيمَارِسْتَانِ الْمُبَارَكِ  
فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ الصَّالِحِ ابْنِ السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ قَلَاوُنَ  
خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى رَبِّهِ أَرْغُونُ الْكَامِلِيُّ نَائِبِ السُّلْطَانَةِ الْمَعْظَمَةِ بِحُلْبِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ  
غُفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَأَثَابَهُ الْجَنَّةَ فِي شَهُورِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ يَتَوَلَّى أَمْرَهَا  
الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى رَبِّهِ سَيْفُ الدِّينِ طَنْجَا أَسْتَازُ دَارِ الْمَشَارِ إِلَيْهِ عَفَى اللَّهُ عَنْهُ

*In the name of the most merciful God. He who shall appear with good works shall receive a tenfold recompense for the same (Qur'ān VI. 161). Ordered to build this blessed hospital during the reign of our Lord the Sultan al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, son of the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, may God make his reign eternal, he who yearns for his Lord Arghūn al-Kāmilī, Governor of the August Sultanate in Aleppo the protected, may God forgive him and give him paradise as reward. In the months of the year 755 (1354). He who yearns for his Lord Saif ad-dīn Tanjā (?) major-domo of the (Amir) referred to was in charge of the work. May God forgive him.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften* (Oppenheim), No. 59, pp. 49 ff., figs. 6, 7.  
Reproduced: Herz, *Az Iszlām Művészete*, fig. 234, p. 204.

Only inscription: Bischoff, *Tuhaf al-anbā' fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab ash-shabbā'*, p. 140.

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, fig. 200, p. 126 (without attribution).

2. MAUSOLEUM AND MADRASAḤ, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, Jerusalem, known locally as Dār al-Khaṭīb.

Two shields intersecting the inscription carved on the lintel of the door.

(1) بِسْمِهِ ○ أَمْرٌ بِإِنشَاءِ هَذِهِ التَّرْبَةِ وَالْمَدْرَسَةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ الْمَقَرَّةِ الْأَشْرَفِ السَّيْفِيِّ  
أَرْغُونُ الْكَامِلِيُّ ○ نَائِبِ السُّلْطَانَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ

(2) بِالشَّامِ الْمَحْرُوسِ كَانَ ○ وَتَوَفَّى إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى ثَامِنَ عَشْرِينَ شَوَّالِ سَنَةِ

ثمان وخمسين وسبع مائة وتولى شدها وتكملها ركن الدين ببرز السيفي  
 وكرمت في ربيع الآخر سنة تسع وخمسين وسبع مائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered to build this mausoleum and this blessed madrasah His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Arghūn al-Kāmīlī, late Governor of the Noble Sultanate in the protected Damascus. Passed into the mercy of God the Exalted the 28th Shawwāl 758 (14th October 1357). Ruḳn ad-dīn Baybars as-Saifī was charged with the inspection and completion of the building. It was completed in Rabīʿ II 759 (13th March–10th April 1358).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIA. *Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 281 ff., fig. 50, pl. LXX.

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, fig. 200, p. 126 (without attribution).

### ARGHŪN AN-NĀṢIRĪ

BLAZON: *Napḳin on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

GLASS LAMP, in 1885 in the collection Goupil, destroyed since. A copy kept in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Paris. Three shields on the upper part of the body of the lamp. Inscription on the body:

المقر الأشرف الكريم العالي المولى السيدى المالكى المهدى المشيدى العونى النياى  
 الهام(م)ى السيفى أرغون الناصرى نائب السلطنة المعظمة

*His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Royal, the Administrator, the Organizer, the Helper, the Rescuer, the Shelter, Saif ad-dīn Arghūn an-Nāṣirī, Governor of the August Sultanate.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lavoix, 'La Collection Albert Goupil, II. L'Art Oriental' (in *GBA.* 2<sup>e</sup> pér., t. XXXII, 1885), p. 303 f. and pl.; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 158 f., No. 24.

Mentioned: Schmoranz, pp. 15, n., 27, 69; CIA. *Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 282, n. 3; Devonshire, 'Some Objects' (in: *Apollo*, January 1927), p. 15; Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser* I. p. 436 f., No. 34.

### ARGHŪN AN-NĀṢIRĪ<sup>1</sup>

Possibly identical with S. Arghūn, originally a mamluk of Muḥammad b.

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, especially pp. 146, l. ult. –147, l. 2, 158, l. 14, 177, l. 16 ff., 182 l. ult. f.; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 319, 344, 351, *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 157<sup>r</sup> f.); Ibn Iyās, I, 157, l. penult., 174, l. 4 b, 175, l. 13; Schmoranz, p. 69; Weil cf. Index; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām* II, p. 375.

Qalāūn, received a scholarly education, succeeded Baybars as Grand Dawādār; Monday, the 1st Jumādā I 712 (4th September 1312) appointed Viceroy of Egypt; Monday the 12th Muḥarram 727 (8th December 1326) transferred to Aleppo as Governor. Died the 18th Rabī' I<sup>1</sup> or Rabī' II 731 (30th December 1330 or 29th January 1331). Built a mausoleum in Aleppo and a madrasa for the Hanefites in Mecca.

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields red, middle field either golden or self-coloured.*

GLASS LAMP. Once in the possession of the late Baron Gustave de Rothschild, present owner unknown. Pl. XLVI.

Inscription on neck, intersected by three shields:

المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالی المولوی السیدی المالکی المهدی ○ المشیدی العونی  
الغياثی الکافلی السیفی أرغون الناصری ○ نائب السلطنة المعظمة المقرّ الأشرف الكريم

العالی المولوی ○ [Van Berchem]

*His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Royal, the Administrator, the Organizer, the Helper, the Rescuer, the Viceroy, Saif ad-dīn Arghūn an-Nāsirī, Governor of the August Sultanate. His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: van Berchem, *Inscripfen Oppenheim*, p. 52, n.; CIA. *Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 283, n. 3; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 156, No. 14; Lamm, p. 430, No. 13.

## ARGHŪNŠĀH

BLAZON: *Cup on middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

DRUM. Present owner unknown.

Inscription:

المقرّ العالی المولوی المالکی العالی العادلی السیفی أرغون شاه المالکی 'الأشرفی  
أعزّ الله أنصاره [Sauvaget]

*His High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Learned, the Just, Saif ad-dīn Arghūn Shāh, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf, may God make his victories glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> According to *Manhal*, l.c., he died on a Friday night, an indication which does not help in this case, as the 18th Rabī' I was a Sunday and the 18th Rabī' II a Tuesday.

ARUQTĀY<sup>1, 2</sup>

S. Aruqtāy, known as Ḥājj Aruqtāy, originally a mamluk of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Qalāūn, made jamdār by al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, followed Tankiz to Damascus, was sent to Hims as Governor on Sunday, 7th Rajab 716<sup>3</sup> (25th September 1316), appointed Governor of Safad in 718 (1318), remained in office till 736 (1335/6), when he was recalled to Egypt as Commander of a Thousand and appointed Viceroy during occasional periods of absence of the Sultan (*nā'ib al-ghaiḥab*). After the dismissal of Ṭaynāl appointed Governor of Tripoli. Following upon Alṭunbughā's defeat in Aleppo, imprisoned in Alexandria. Released by al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, resided in Cairo as Commander of a Thousand up to aṣ-Ṣāliḥ's death. Under al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān appointed Governor of Aleppo, remained there for about five months from Jumādā I 746 (began 30th August 1345) onwards, recalled to Egypt, became Viceroy during the reign of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥajjī.<sup>4</sup> After al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan's accession to the throne appointed at his own request Governor of Aleppo. Following upon the death of Arghūn-shāh, appointed Governor of Damascus. Died on his way to Damascus, 5th Jumādā I 750 (22nd July 1349), seventy-eight years old.

BLAZON: *In each of the upper and lower fields of a three-fielded shield a key, middle field blank.*

COPPER VASE, formerly in the possession of A. Baudry, Cairo, present owner unknown.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی السیفی أرقطای نائب المملكة الصفديّة عزّ نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, Saif ad-dīn Aruqtāy, Governor of the province of Safad, may his victory be glorious.*

DATE: Between 1318 and 1335.

<sup>1</sup> Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 25<sup>v</sup>, 26<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 383, 386, 392; Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, pp. 40, l. 3 b-41, l. 15; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 66<sup>r</sup>); *Manḥal* s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 163<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 184, l. 4, 189, l. 9, 190, l. 12; Weil, IV, 350 f., 430, 433, 435, 463, 471, 476, 484.

<sup>2</sup> Vowel signs in *A'yān*, s.v.; vulgar pronunciation without 'A' (*Khīṭaṭ*, II, 40, l. 3 b).

<sup>3</sup> According to *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 41, l. 2: 710.

<sup>4</sup> According to Ibn Iyās I p. 184, l. 4, under Sha'bān.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, *Le Blason*, No. 24, p. 125 f. fig. 44; Artin, *Contribution*, p. 237 (with the wrong reference to No. 164).

Reproduced: Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas*, p. 3, fig. 11; P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 12, p. 10; Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (2nd ed.), p. 13, fig. 9.

If blazon and inscription really belong together—a supposition which on the information supplied by Rogers can be neither proved nor disproved—then this blazon would be one of the rare cases in which amirs, despite their having served as jamdārs, wore an emblem other than a napkin on their shields, the others being Baybars (later Sultan), Baybars Jāliq and Qāzān, but cf. the blazon of Mūsā b. Aruqtāy.

### ASANBUGHĀ B. BAKTAMUR<sup>1</sup>

S. Asanbughā b. Baktamur al-Abūbakrī, made Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand by Muḥammad b. Qalāūn; after the latter's death imprisoned in Alexandria, released under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, in 769 (1367/8) became Governor of Aleppo,<sup>2</sup> which post he occupied for six months; transferred to Cairo as Great Amir. Died in 777 (1375/6), over seventy years of age.

Built the Būbakriyya near the Sūq ar-Raqīq, Cairo.

BLAZON: *Sword with sword-knots placed diagonally on the middle field of a three-felded shield.*

MADRASA, Cairo.

On the restored wooden railing of the sabil, a modern inscription flanked by two shields, imitating the original blazon on the ceiling.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: *CR. Exerc.* 1897, fasc. 14, p. 58.

### ASANDAMUR

Probably identical with S. Asandamur Kurjī,<sup>3,4</sup> an amir at Damascus, im-

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 424, 439; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 72<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, obituaries s.a. 777 (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fos. 193<sup>r</sup>, v).

<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 424, he was appointed in 770.

<sup>3</sup> Abu-l-Fidā' ed. Reiske, V., 176, 222, 228–34, 240–2 (ed. Constantinople, IV. 47, l. 4 b, 60, l. 8 b, 62, ll. 1, 7, 23 ff., 3 b, 63, l. 10, 65, l. 3 ff.); Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 110, l. 11, 144, l. 7, 151, l. 6, 152, l. 6, 153, l. 14, 154, l. 11; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 304, 313, 314; *Subḥ*, X, 182, l. 9 f.; *SM*, II b, 181, 185; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 72<sup>v</sup>); *Manḥal* s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fos. 193<sup>v</sup>–194<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 152, l. 5, 154, l. 9 b; Weil, IV, especially pp. 202, 272, 288, 299, n. 2, 300 f., 305–7.

<sup>4</sup> Spelling based on the vowel signs in Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. Asandamur al-'Umarī (MS. Berlin, fo. 27<sup>r</sup>).

prisoned in Muḥarram 696 (November 1296) by Kitbughā, took up office as Governor of Tripoli in 701 (1301/2), appointed Governor of Hama the 18th Dhu-l-Hijja 709 (19th May 1310), Governor of Aleppo in Jumādā I 710 (began 26th September 1310). Arrested and executed in 710 or 711 (1310/11). Built a bath in Tripoli.

BLAZON: *Sword on undivided field. Shield either pointed (No. 1) or round (No. 2).*

1. LID OF A CENOTAPH. National Syrian Museum, Damascus. Pl. XXXVII.  
On each of the long sides of the lid a shield above the inscription:

بسمه . . . هذا قبر الفقيرة الى الله المتوفاة في سبيل الله بحى بنت عبد الله  
عتيقة الجنب | العالى السيفى أسندمر السلحدار المنصورى الأشرقى توفيت يوم الأحد  
تاسع رجب الفرد سنة تسعين وستمائة رحمها الله ورحم من ترجم عليها

*In the name of the most merciful God. This is the tomb of the woman yearning for God, who died in the path of God [1 word] daughter of 'Abdallāh, the freed slave (wife) of His High Excellency (janāb), Saif ad-dīn Asandamur, the armour-bearer, (officer) of (al-Malik) al-Manṣūr (and al-Malik) al-Asbraf. Passed away the 9th Rajab the Unique of the year 690 (8th July 1291), may God have mercy upon her, &c.*

Despite the diacritical points, the name of Asandamur's wife is very difficult to establish. The rendering of 'Tukhayna' has been suggested by Professor G. Weil, Berlin, and that of 'Bakhtī' by Professor G. Wiet, Cairo. For the convenience of the reader, I am passing on both variants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. BRASS BOWL. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XXXVI. 3.

In centre a shield with inscription round it, both completely obliterated. On the outside an inscription intersected by three shields and three eight-petalled whirling rosettes.

المقر العالى ا ○ ملوى المالكى | العالى العاد ○ لى المجاهدى الذخرى | السيفى  
أسندمر السلحدار ○ المنصورى الناصرى

*His High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Learned, the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the Treasure, Saif ad-dīn Asandamur, the armour-bearer (officer) of (al-Malik) al-Manṣūr (and) (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir.*

DATE: Between 694, al-Malik an-Nāṣir's accession to the throne, and 711.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.



AŞLAM<sup>1</sup>

Ba. Aşlam b. 'Abdallāh an-Nāsirī, a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn and his silahdār, made by him Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand. The victim of malicious slander, he was imprisoned for six years and five months.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's reign he was re-appointed Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, and in Ramaḍān 741 (February–March 1341) made Governor of Safad. In 742 sent back to Cairo by Quṭlūbughā, where he remained up to his death, the 10th Sha'bān 747 (26th November 1346). Built a madrasah near his house at the Bāb al-Maḥrūq, Cairo, as well as a mausoleum, a private house, and a cistern for public use.<sup>3</sup>

BLAZON: *Upper and lower field golden, on a red middle field a golden scimitar.*

LAMP, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, formerly collection Sarre

Six shields, three intersecting the qur'ānic inscription on the neck, three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمير[ی] الکبیری المحترمی المخدمی  
بهاء الدین أسلام دامت سعاده

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Honoured, the Well-Served, Bahā' ad-dīn Aslām, may his happiness last for ever.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sarre and Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisternwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910*, I. 8, pl. 174; Karabacek, 'Muhammedanische Kunststudien' (in: *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde*, IV), pp. 10 ff.

Reproduced in: Sarre, 'Vergoldete und emaillierte syrische Gläser' (in: *Amtliche Berichte aus den Kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXII (1911), p. 138 f., fig. 81e); Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, p. 205, fig. 287; Kühnel, *Kunst des Orients*, p. 53, fig. 73.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 163, No. 47; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 447, No 73.

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 171, l. 6, 187, l. 11 f., 219, ll. 3–6; Šafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 27<sup>r</sup>, v), where the date of his death is given as 746; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 309, ll. 2 ff. (2nd ed., IV, p. 106, ll. 3 ff.); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 73<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 196<sup>v</sup>, 197<sup>r</sup>); Weil, IV. 425, 455, 457; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 196, 766.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 187, l. 11 f.; according to Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, l.c., fo. 197<sup>r</sup>, l. 1, and *A'yān*, l.c., five years; according to Ibn Ḥajar, l.c., l. 8, 'about seven years'.

<sup>3</sup> *Manhal*, l.c., fo. 197<sup>r</sup>, l. 12, 'a cistern and a public fountain' حوضاً وسلسلاً.

Van Berchem's view<sup>1</sup> that this lamp was made for Aşlam, in spite of the spelling Aslām, was challenged by Karabacek,<sup>2</sup> who tried to prove (a) that neither can the vulgar pronunciation of Cairo be considered as support for the spelling of Aslan, nor can the name be derived from Arslān, (b) that different spelling rules out the identity of these two persons,<sup>3</sup> and (c) that, therefore, the Aslām mentioned in the inscription on the lamp is a different person from Aşlam, the builder of the Mosque at Cairo.

The first argument is irrelevant to the solution of our problem, the second is wrong, because there are many known instances showing that the name of an amir was spelt in different ways, even in texts of a more or less official character, and, curiously enough, there is just the one group of names quoted by Karabacek which furnishes the most convincing proof to the contrary, viz. names ending with تمر, e.g. Tuquztamur,<sup>4</sup> Tuquzdamur,<sup>5</sup> &c.

The following facts prove that we were justified in dismissing Karabacek's theory:

- (a) There exists an intermediate form between Aşlam and Aslām, viz. Aşlām.<sup>6</sup>
- (b) The change from s to ş is a well-established fact in the spelling of common Turkish names.<sup>7</sup>
- (c) There is no amir of the name of Aslām, as opposed to Aşlam.
- (d) The amir Arslān, quoted by Karabacek, was a *dawādār* and not a *silāḥdār*.<sup>8</sup>

We cannot, therefore, go wrong in assuming that the holder of this blazon is Bahā' ad-dīn Aşlam, who founded a madrasah in Cairo in 746, and that the lamp was made about the same time.

## AYBAK OF MOSUL<sup>9</sup>

I. Aybak b. 'Abdallāh of Mosul, a mamluk of Qalāūn, Governor of Shaubak, appointed Governor of Kerak in 685 (1286), and of Tripoli in 694 (1294/5). Died there in 698<sup>10</sup> (1298/9).

BLAZON: *Table (khānjā) on middle field of three-fielded shield.*

<sup>1</sup> *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken*, &c., I. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Muhammedanische Kunststudien*, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>3</sup> l.c., p. 13: 'In den Biographien und Nomenklaturen werden derlei Namensschreibungen stets strenge auseinander gehalten, wie z.B. ارسلان und ارسلان و تمر, تمر و تمر, usw.'

<sup>4</sup> In inscriptions, cf. the Roll, s.v.

<sup>5</sup> In literary texts, cf. *Manhal*, s.v.; Ibn Ḥabīb, cf. Index.

<sup>6</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 187, l. 11.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Baybars as-Saifī, cf. *CI.A. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 282, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Karabacek, l.c., p. 12, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *SM*. II a, p. 83, II b, pp. 25, 81, 135; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 29<sup>r</sup>); Sobernheim, *CI.A. Syrie du Nord*, p. 84 f.

<sup>10</sup> Maqrizī mentions the death of Aybak al-Mauṣilī, Governor of Tripoli, first s.a. 697 (*SM*. II b, p. 81), then s.a. 698 (ib. p. 135).

MAUSOLEUM, locally known as Walī Sīdnā 'Izz ad-dīn, Bāb al-Ḥadīd Quarter, Tripoli.

Inscription over the window, facing the street. Beneath three heraldic shields, partly hidden by the window-frame.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ... هذه تربة العبد الفقير إلى (2) رحمة الله تعالى إيبك ابن عبد الله الموصلي  
نائب السلطنة (3) الشريفة بالفتوحات المحروسة رحمه الله تعالى المتوفى في خامس (4) شهر  
صفر من سنة ثمان وتسعين وستمئة من الهجرة النبوية

*In the name of the most merciful God. This is the mausoleum of the servant yearning for the mercy of God the Exalted, Aybak, son of 'Abdallāh of Mosul, Governor of the Noble Sultanate in the protected conquered countries, may God the Exalted have mercy upon him, who passed away the 5th Šafar of the year 698 of the Hījra of the Prophet (12th November 1298).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, *CI.A. Syrie du Nord*, No. 37, p. 84, pl. IX (where the blazon is invisible).

# ĀYDAKĪN<sup>1</sup>

A. Aydakīn b. 'Abdallāh, the arquebusier, originally a mamluk of 'Alā' ad-dīn Āqsunqur, the cup-bearer,<sup>2</sup> later of al-Malik aš-Šāliḥ Najm ad-dīn Ayyūb, became an arquebusier and then Governor of 'Ajlūn. Later on dismissed and his possessions confiscated by the Sultan. In 648 (1250) appointed Governor of Egypt by Aybak for the time of the latter's absence. Became major-domo under Baybars, his former mamluk, was for a time Viceroy of Syria; in 659 (1261), became Governor of Aleppo. Deposed in 677 (1278) by Baraka Khān, became commander of the left wing of the army in 679 (1280). Died in Rabī' II 684 (began 6th June 1285) and was buried in his mausoleum in the ash-Shārī' al-a'ẓam, opposite the Ḥammām al-Fāraqān, outside Cairo.

BLAZON: *Two golden cross-bows addorsed on undivided red shield.*

1. LAMP. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, once collection Morgan.

Inscription on neck intersected by three shields.

<sup>1</sup> *SM*. I a, pp. 17, 139, 168, I b, p. 13; Ibn Ḥabīb, 247, 274; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo 34v); Artin Pasha, 'Description de quatre lampes en verre émaillé et armoirées' (in: *BIE*. 5<sup>e</sup> sér. t. I, 1907), pp. 78-81; Weil, IV. 23, 30, 31.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Manḥal*, s.v., he was originally a mamluk of J. Mūsā b. Yaghmur.

مما عمل برسم تربة المقرّ العالی العلائی البندقدار قدس الله روحه

*This is one of the objects made for the mausoleum of His High Excellency 'Alā' ad-dīn the arquebusier, may God sanctify his soul.*

On body the same inscription intersected by two shields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Artin Pacha, *Description de quatre lampes*, pp. 69-81, pl. 1.

Reproduced: Migeon, *Manuel*, 2nd ed., II, p. 133, fig. 294.

Mentioned: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 288, n. 2; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 154, App. No. 4.

Mentioned and reproduced: Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 427, No. 2, pl. 197, fig. 3.

2. MAUSOLEUM, Cairo, known locally as Zāwiyat al-Abbār. Pl. XL. 1.

Inscription on the façade, with a series of titles suitable for Aydakīn intersected by two shields. The portion containing the name is hidden behind a modern building.

... المالكى الأميرى الكبيرى الاسفهلارى العضدى

... the Royal, the Great Amir, the General, the Supporter ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 288, n. 2.

## AYDAMUR<sup>1</sup>

Most probably identical with I. Aydamur,<sup>2</sup> Governor of Kerak, appointed Viceroy of Syria in 670 (1271/2). Died the 2nd Rabī' I 700 (15th November 1300).<sup>3</sup>

BLAZON: (a) *Napkin on undivided ornamented field*; (b) *white lion striding to the left, on undivided ornamented field*.

BASIN. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XXX. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Spelling indicated in *A'yān* s.vv. *A. al-Margabī* and *A., Governor of Gazza* (MS. Berlin, fo. 36r).

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 95, l. 16; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 257, 301; *SM*. I b, p. 93, II b, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī evidently mixed up the biography of our Aydamur with that of *Saif ad-dīn Aydamur* b. 'Abdallāh az-Zāhirī at-Turkī. In his article on the latter (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 40r) he makes a mamluk freed by Baybars die in Rabī' I 790.

Inscription intersected by six heraldic shields, three with a napkin and three with a lion passant. The latter marked by circles enclosing the letter L. The napkins are roughened, probably to receive some incrustation, indicating colour.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الكريم العالى المولى ○ الأميرى الكبيرى المجاهدى  
 المرباطى المشاغرى ① المؤيدى المظفرى العالمى العالى ○ دلى الأعزى الأخصى الذخرى  
 النصرى نصرة ① الغزاة والمجاهدين عمدة الملوك والسلا ○ طين الأمير عزّ الدين  
 ايدمر الجمدار القيمرى ①

*This is one of the objects made for His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped by God, the Victorious, the Learned, the Governing, the Just, the Most Glorious, the Favourite, the Treasure, the Victor, the Pillar of Kings and Sultans, the Amir 'Izz ad-dīn Aydamur, the jamdār, the Qaimarite.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### AYDAMUR AL-ĀNŪKĪ<sup>1</sup>

I. Aydamur b. 'Abdallāh, originally a mamluk of Prince Ānūk, son of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, held various offices before he came to be *Dawādār* of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan; following upon Yalbughā's rebellion, exiled to Syria, then appointed Governor of al-Bīreh, later made Commander of a Thousand in Cairo, then appointed Governor of Tripoli, whence transferred to Aleppo as Governor early in 773 (January 1731). Dismissed from office, returned to Cairo in 774 (1372), again Governor of Tripoli, on Aljāy al-Yūsufī's death in 775, succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief. Died in 776 (1374), over seventy years of age.

BLAZON: *Cup on middle field of three-fielded shield.*

MADRASA, locally known as al-Madrassa al-Khātūniyya, Tripoli.  
 One shield over the lintel of each of the three windows.

Inscription in the porch over the entrance door:

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 430; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 39<sup>r</sup>, v); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 228, l. 4 b; Sobernheim, *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, p. 118 f.

... انشأ هذا المكان المبارك مولانا المقرّ الأشرف العالى المولى المخدمى  
الكافى العزى ايدمر الأشرفى مولانا ملك الأمراء ... وكان الفراغ من ذلك فى  
سنة خمس وسبعين وسبعمائة

*Constructed this blessed place our Lord His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-served, the Viceroy, 'Izz ad-din Aydamur al-Ashrafī, our Lord the Governor-General . . . and this (work) was finished in the year 775 (1373/4).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, l.c., pp. 114 ff., pl. XII.

### AYDAMUR AL-ASHRAFĪ

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on middle field a red cup charged with a napkin, on lower field a red cup.*<sup>1</sup>

CYLINDRICAL BOX, Musée du Louvre, Paris, No. 7438, formerly in the collection Delort de Gléon.

Four shields, one on the lid, two intersecting the inscription on the body, one on the outside bottom of the box.

Inscriptions on body and lid. The latter, being the shortest, is reproduced here:

المقرّ الأشرف العالى المولى المالكى المخدمى العزى ايدمر الأشرفى كافى الملكة  
الشريفة بحلب المحروسة

*His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, 'Izz ad-din Aydamur al-Ashrafī, Viceroy of the Noble Province of Aleppo, the protected.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, *Arabische Gefässinschriften*, p. 184 f.

Mentioned: Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, vol. *Armes*, p. 26, No. 99.

### AYDAMUR AZ-ZARDKĀSH

BLAZON: *Polo-sticks with balls on undivided field.*

BRONZE STAND FOR A TRAY, present owner unknown: once in the collection Schefer, then Duseigneur.

Inscription: <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Traces of red incrustation still visible.

<sup>2</sup> The following text is a compilation of what I read on fig. 101 of the sale catalogue of the collection Schefer (A and B) and on the fragment of a rubbing in the collection van Berchem (C).

- A      . . . لما عمل برسم الجناب العالي ا لملوى . . .
- B      الذخرى الزعيمى ا لكفلى المهدى ال . . .
- C      العزى عز ا الدين ايدمر الزردكاش عز نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord . . . the Treasure, the Chieftain, the Viceroy, the Administrator, the . . . ‘Izz ad-dīn Aydamur, the Armourer, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced and briefly described: *Catalogue des Objets d’Art . . . composant la collection de M. Ch. Schefer*, No. 101, p. 17 and pl.

# AYNĀL AL-‘ALĀ’Ī<sup>1</sup>

S. Aynāl<sup>2</sup> b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Alā’ī az-Zāhirī an-Nāsirī, nicknamed ‘*ajrūd*’ (i.e. thin-haired, beardless), one of the mamluks of Barqūq, after whose death he was freed and made a Master of the Robes (*jamdār*)<sup>3</sup> by Faraj; then made

<sup>1</sup> Maqrīzī, *Khitāt*, II, 244, l. 11 f. (2nd ed., III. 396); Sakhāwī, *at-Tibr al-masbūk*, pp. 423–4, ll. 6, 13, 429–31, *ad-Daw’ al-lāmi’*, s.v.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 46<sup>r</sup>); *Nujūm*, VI, cf. Index, especially pp. 510, l. 22, 601, l. 14, 621, l. 17, 634, l. 1, 709–10, 750, l. 22, 826, l. 16; as-Suyūtī, *Husn al-muḥādara*, Cairo 1327, II, p. 80, l. 11 f.; Mujīr ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, pp. 444–5; Ibn Iyās, cf. Index s.vv. al-Malik al-Ashraf and Aynāl al-‘Alā’ī al-Ajrūd, especially his biography II. 39–40; Weil, V, cf. Index; Sobernheim, *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. Īnāl (English ed. II. 477 f.), *CI.A. Égypte*, I, cf. Index.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the spelling of this name, cf. L. A. Mayer, ‘Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza IV’ (in: *JPOS*. X, 1930, p. 60, n.1), where Ibn Taghribirdī’s statement that the name means ‘moon-rays’ (*ay-nāl*), and should accordingly be written in two words (*Manhal*, s.v. Aynāl al-Yūsufī, MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 42<sup>v</sup>, ll. 5–3 b) was considered sufficient reason for the adoption of the spelling *Aynāl* instead of *Īnāl*. It might be said, of course, that Ibn Taghribirdī’s explanation of this name has only the value of a popular etymology, but it shows that the name was pronounced, at least in his day, with an initial *ay* and not with an *ī*. The same vocalization is to be found in a verse of Aḥmad b. al-‘Atṭār quoted by Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm* s.a. 780 (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 215<sup>r</sup>, l. 9).

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Iyās II, p. 39, l. 8 b جمادراً, and Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. وجعله حاشكاً. It is a mistake to consider the word *kbāṣṣakī* as being a general term for the various corps of pages, although passages could be quoted in corroboration of such a statement. In the proper sense of the word, the *kbāṣṣakīyyah* were a corps by themselves, obviously of a low grade, from which some of the higher grade pages with special functions, the *arbāb al-waṣṣā’if*, used to be chosen. This can be proved by the careers of several mamluks, e.g. the later Sultan Shaikh, who was first *jamdār*, then *kbāṣṣakī*, and finally *sāqī*, before being dubbed amir. Qānṣūh al-Muḥammadi, a mamluk of Barsbāy, was first *kbāṣṣakī*, then *sāqī*, Jānibak az-Zarīf was first *kbāṣṣakī*, then *kbāṣṣindār ṣaghīr*, then *dawādār ṣaghīr*, Jānibak min Ṭuṭukh was first *jamdār*, then *kbāṣṣakī* and finally became Amir of Ten (*Dau’* s.vv.).

*dawādār* by Shaikh, and Amir of Ten by Aḥmad b. Shaikh. Under Barsbāy made Amir of Forty and appointed *Third Ra's Naubah*, promoted in 830 (1426/7) to the post of a *Second Ra's Naubah*. On 18th Shawwāl 831 (31st July 1428) appointed Governor of Gaza; in 836 (1432/3) made Commander of a 'Thousand and Governor of ar-Ruhā' (Edessa). Replaced by Shād Bak al-Jakamī, he lived for some time in Egypt. On the 10th Rajab 840 (18th January 1437), made Governor of Safad, an appointment he held until recalled by Jaqmaq, who made him Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a 'Thousand in Egypt. On the 13th Jumādā II, 846 (19th October 1442)<sup>1</sup> appointed Grand Dawādār, on Thursday, the 3rd Sha'bān 849 (4th November 1445) Commander-in-Chief in Egypt. On Monday, 8th Rabī' I 857 (19th March 1453) ascended the throne as al-Malik al-Ashraf. Died Thursday, 15th<sup>2</sup> Jumādā I 865 (26th February 1461).

BLAZON: *On upper field pen-box, on middle field cup, on lower field fleur-de-lis.*

MINARET of the Kātib al-Wilāyah-Mosque, Gaza. Pl. LXVII. 2.

(1) بِسْمِهِ . . . أَمْرٌ بِعِمَارَةِ هَذِهِ الْمَأْذَنَةِ ○ مَوْلَانَا الْمُقَرَّرَ الْأَشْرَفَ السَّيْفِيَّ ابْنَ الْإِلَّهِ الْعَلَائِيَّ

(2) نَائِبُ السُّلْطَانَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ بَغْزَةَ الْمُحْرُوسَةِ ابْتِغَاءً لَوَجْهِ اللَّهِ ○ تَعَالَى فِي مُسْتَهْلٍ

ذِي الْحِجَّةِ الْحَرَامِ سَنَةِ خَمْسَةِ وَثَلَاثِينَ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ

*In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered to build this minaret our Lord, His Most Noble Excellency Saif-ad-dīn Aynāl al-'Alā'ī, Governor of the Noble Sultanate in the protected Gaza, in his desire to please God the Exalted, on the 1st of Dhu-l-Hijja of the year 835 (30th July 1432).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon described: L. A. Mayer, *Guide to the Exhibition of Moslem Heraldry in Palestine*, p. 7.

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, fig. 96, p. 121 (without identification).

### AYNĀL AL-ḤAKĪM<sup>3</sup>

S. Aynāl al-Ibrāhīmī al-Ḥakīm (i.e. the physician) in Muḥarram 876 (began

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, II 29, l. 15, mentions it under the events of the year 848.

<sup>2</sup> Mujir ad-dīn gives a slightly different date, viz. the 9th.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Iyās, II. 128, l. 4 b, 151 b., 159, l. 6, 163, l. penult.



20th June 1471) appointed Governor of Malatia, in 879 or 880 Atābak of Aleppo. Died there in Dhu-l-Hijja 880 (began 27th March 1476).

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a cup, on lower field a fleur-de-lis.*

COPPER DISH. Present owner unknown.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف العالي المولوى الأميرى  
الكبرى المخدمى السيفى اينال حكيم أتابك العساكر بطلب

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Aynāl Ḥakīm, the Commander-in-Chief in Aleppo.*

Rogers attributed this blazon to Aynāl al-Yūsufī the *atābak*. It seems to me impossible that a man dubbed amir about 778 should have a three-fielded shield with three different emblems, whereas such a blazon would be quite normal if granted about 860. Another reason which might have induced Rogers to make this attribution was, perhaps, the fact that the Aynāl al-Yūsufī was stationed for a time in Aleppo. But in Aleppo he was *Governor* and not *atābak al-'asākir*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, *Le Blason*, p. 117, No. 11, fig. 31.

Reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 22, p. 10.

### AYNĀL AL-ASHRAFĪ

Possibly identical with Aynāl al-Ashqar al-Ashrafī,<sup>1</sup> who died of the plague in 897 (1491/2).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers of nobility', on lower field a small cup between two napkins.*

DECREE, Main Mosque, Hama. Pl. LXVII. 3.

Inscription on the lintel of the window in the courtyard flanked by two shields:

(I) لما كان بتاريخ أربع [و]عشرين شهر شعبان سنة أربع وتسعين وثمان مائة  
أمر مولانا المقر الأشرف الكريم العالي المولوى الملكى<sup>2</sup> المخدمى

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, p. 275, l. 4. To be distinguished from his more famous namesake Aynāl al-Ashqar az-Zāhirī, who at various stages of his career occupied the posts of *ra's naubat kabīr*, *amīr silāh*, Governor of Cairo, Malatia, and Aleppo.

<sup>2</sup> Mistake of the stone-cutter for الملكى.

(2) الكافى السيفى اينال الأشرفى كافل المملكة الحموية المحروسة عز الله أنصاره

بإبطال ما كان يؤخذ على القطنين بحماة الخ

*On the 24th Sha'bān 894 (23rd July 1489), our Lord, His Most Noble, Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, the Viceroy Saif ad-dīn Aynāl al-Ashrafī, Viceroy of the province of Hama, the protected, may God make his victories glorious, ordered to abolish (the taxes) taken from the cotton-merchants in Hama, &c.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### AYNĀL AL-YŪSUFĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Aynāl b. 'Abdallāh al-Yūsufī al-Yalbughāwī, originally a mamluk of Yalbughā al-'Umarī al-Khāṣṣakī, made his career after the death of his master. Under 'Alī b. Sha'bān, came to be one of the Egyptian amirs. In 779 (1377/8) appointed *amīr silāḥ*. Following an unsuccessful attempt at stirring up a rising, on Monday, 14th Sha'bān 781 (25th November 1379), was imprisoned in Alexandria, then set free by Barqūq and appointed Governor of Tripoli. Later (after the dismissal from office of Minklībughā ash-Shamsī) transferred to Aleppo as Governor of that province. When Barqūq ascended the throne Aynāl was sent to Damascus as *atābak*. Again appointed Governor of Aleppo during the rebellion of Yalbughā an-Nāṣirī, he secretly favoured Yalbughā. In 792 appointed Governor of Safad. After Barqūq's second accession to the throne, 14th Šafar 792 (1st February 1390) recalled to Cairo as *atābak al-'asākīr*. Died the 4th Jumādā II 794 (28th April 1392).

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields blank, on middle field a scimitar.*

WINDOWS of his madrasah, outside Bāb Zuwailah, Cairo. Pl. XXXV. 1.

On each of the arches of the two windows in the southern wall a heraldic shield.

DATE: The madrasah having been commenced in 794 and finished in 795, after Aynāl's death, the windows are probably of the latter date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 450, 453, 479; *Khīṭaṭ* II p. 401, ll. 19-24; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Ar. 3043, fo. 81v); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 41v-42v); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 243, ll. 9, 10, 244, ll. 6 ff., 270, l. 11, 281, ll. 9 b ff., 284, l. 3, 291, l. 4; Weil, IV. 536, 539, 549, 551, 565, 566; Rogers, *Blason*, p. 117 f.

AYTMISH AL-BAJĀSĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Aytmiş<sup>2</sup> b. 'Abdallāh al-Asandumrī al-Bajāsī, originally a mamluk of Asandamur<sup>3</sup> al-Bajāsī al-Jurjāwī, after the death of his master became amir in Egypt, appointed Marshal (*amīr akḥūr*) owing to the help of Barqūq, following whose accession to the throne he became Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand and *ra's naubat an-nuwwāb*, appointed *atābaḳ al-'asākīr* some time after the 8th Dhu-l-Qa'da 785 (2nd January 1384), imprisoned in 791 (1389), released and appointed *ra's naubat al-umarā'* in 792, succeeded Kumushbughā al-Ḥamawī as *atābaḳ al-'asākīr* in 800 (1397/8), rebelled, defeated near Gaza, imprisoned in the fortress of Damascus, executed 14th Sha'bān 802 (10th April 1400). Built a madrasah near the Bāb al-Wazīr and a tower in Tripoli.

BLAZON: *On each of the upper and middle fields a cup, lower field blank.*

ROCK INSCRIPTION near the bridge on the Nahr al-Kalb. Pl. LVI. 1.

Two shields at the beginning and at the end of the first two lines, an inscribed shield in the middle marked ①. The inscribed shield contains the name of Barqūq, for its text cf. p. 33, No. 3.

Inscription:

(1) ○ بسمه . . . اصدق الله . . . ① العظيم وصدق رسوله الكريم أمر بعمارة

هذا الجسر المبارك ○

(2) ○ المقر الأشرف العالى المولوى المالكى المخدمى السيفى أبو العزائم ①

أيتمش البجاسى الظاهرى أتابك العساكر الإسلاميه ورأس نوبة النواب ○

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 29, l. 12; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡm*, VI, cf. Index, especially p. 143 f.; *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, 2069, fo. 31<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>); Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw' al-lāmi'*, s.v. Weil, cf. Index, especially IV. 536, 538, 543, V. 62, 73, 75, 78; F. H. Weissbach, 'Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb' (in *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 6), p. 45 f.

<sup>2</sup> Spelling indicated in words by Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. Aytmiş an-Nāṣirī, the *jamdār*; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 188, l. 5 b, vocalizes Aytamush.

<sup>3</sup> Asandamur was originally a mamluk of Bajās, Bajās a mamluk of Jurjī, the Governor of Aleppo.

(3) الجمدارية الملكية الظاهرية أثابه الله الجنة . . . مظلمة فمن فعل شيئاً فيها

من ذلك فعليه لعنة الله والملائكة

(4) والناس أجمعين . . . العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الحاج بهادر

(5) . . . بد[مشق] المحروسة . . . فى الشهر المحرم . . .

*In the name of the most merciful God . . . truthful is Mighty God and truthful is His noble Apostle. Ordered to build this blessed bridge His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, and Well-Served Saif ad-dīn Abu-l-'Azā'im Aytmish al-Bajāsī, (officer) of al-Malik az-Zāhir, Chief Commander of the Muslim Troops and Chief of the corps of jamdārs of al-Malik az-Zāhir, may God give him paradise as reward. [A few words missing] wrong, and whosoever does anything of this kind in it, the curse of God and His angels and all men be upon him. [Several words missing] the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Ḥajj Bahādūr [1-2 words missing] in Da[mascus] the protected. In the month Muḥarram . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: van Berchem-Fatio, 'Voyage en Syrie' (in: *MIFAO*, XXXVII), pp. 99 ff., especially p. 100, n. 1; Weissbach, l.c., pp. 43 ff., pl. XIV. On p. 46 Kumushbughā's blazon, upper field blank, on each of the middle and lower fields a cup, is depicted (fig. 14) and so discussed as if it were identical with that of Aytmish, and on the basis of this—wrongly assumed—identity attributed to Barqūq. For full bibliographical references see Weissbach, l.c.

### 'AZĪZ AL-'ALĀWĪ

BLAZON: Upper field self-coloured, on red middle field a white napkin, lower field white.

GLASS 'EGG'. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Nos. 333-1900, formerly collection Myers. Pl. XXXI. 1.

Inscription three times intersected by heraldic shields.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الاشرف العالى ○ لمولوى الكبيرى المحترمى المخدمى ○ لسيفى

عزيز العلاوى الملكى الصالحى عزّ نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for the most Noble and High Excellency our Lord, the Great*

(*Amir*), the Honoured, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn 'Aẓīẓ al-'Alāwī, (officer) of al-Malik as-Ṣāliḥ, may his victory be glorious.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmoranz, p. 18 f., figs. 15, 17.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 163, No. 49; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 442, No. 57.

### BAHĀDUR ĀṢ<sup>1</sup>

S. Bahādur b. 'Abdallāh, called Āṣ (name of a Tatar tribe), originally a mamluk of Qalāūn, one of the amirs of Damascus, where he lived, with the exception of about a year and a half, 711/12 (1311/12), spent at Safad as Governor, and two years, 715/17 (1315/17), during which he was confined in prison. In 715 head of the right wing of the Syrian army. Died in Ṣafar 730 (November–December 1329).

BLAZON: *Six-petalled rosette on undivided round shield.*

1. COPPER BASIN. Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 3751. Pl. XXXVI. 1.

Twelve shields: six on the outside of the object, six on the inside.

Inscription inside the basin:

مما عمل برسم ○ الجناب العالي ○ المولوى الأ○ميرى الكبيرى ○ لسيفى بهادر  
○ اسلأحدار ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir<sup>2</sup> Saif ad-dīn Bahādur, the armour-bearer.*

Inscription on the outside of the basin:

مما عمل برسم الجناب العالي المولوى الأميرى ○ لغازى الجاهدى المرباطى المالكى  
○ السيفى بهادر آص السلاأحدار الملكى الناصرى ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir, the*

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, cf. Index, especially pp. 156, l. 6, 158, l. 17, 163, ll. 8, 9, 166, ll. 13, 14; Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 293, l. 2; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 357, fo. 62<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 350, l. 5; *JM*, especially IIa, p. 12; Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 94<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manḥal* (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 94<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index; Weil, IV. 282, 295, 300.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to Bahādur's title 'Great Amir', cf. *Manḥal*, s.v.

*Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Royal, Saif ad-dīn Bahādur Āṣ, the armour-bearer of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

The rosette was effaced at a later date and two slanting swords engraved in its stead. Still later these were likewise erased and replaced by a cup.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: CR. Exerc. 1911, fasc. 28, p. 13.

2. MAUSOLEUM, corner of Jāddat al-Marqāṣ and Sūq al-Ghanam, Damascus, Mīdān quarter. Known locally as the mausoleum of 'Malik al-Ghōr'. Pl. XL. 3.

Inscription originally in four sections of one line each, each flanked by two shields. Only three sections visible.

(2) المسجد المعمور والتربة المباركة العبد

(3) الفقير الى الله تعالى الراجى عفو ربه بهادر آص الملكي

(4) الناصرى وذلك في شهر سنة أحد وعشرين وسبعمئة

[Beginning missing. Perhaps: *Ordered to build this*] *prosperous mosque and blessed mausoleum, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, hoping for forgiveness from his Lord, Bahādur Āṣ, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir. This was made during the months of the year 721 (= 1321).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## BAHĀDUR AL-BADRĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Bahādur al-Badrī, the sword-bearer, appointed Governor of Hims in 719 (1319), Governor of Kerak on the 1st Dhu-l-Hijja 725 (8th November 1325), remained in office till Ramaḍān 731 (began 8th June 1331). Imprisoned by Tankiz; on his release appointed Governor of Tripoli; died there in 740 (1339/40).

BLAZON: *On the middle field of a three-fielded shield, a scimitar.*

STAND FOR A TRAY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Pl. XXXVIII.

Shields on the upper and lower rims and on the embossed collar of the object.

Inscription on the upper half:

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beitrag*, pp. 176, l. 13, 183, ll. 19, 22; Ibn Hajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 94v); Sauvaire in de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte*, II, p. 206, No. 23; Weil, IV. 396.

برسم المقرّ الكريم العالى المولو[ى] المالكى الأمرى الكبيرى الغازى المجاهدى  
المرباطى المشاغرى الأعزّى

Inscription on the lower half:

الأخصّى الذخر[ى] الكفيلى العالى العالمى الهامى السيفى بهادر البدرى السلحدار  
الملكى الناصرى

*For His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the most Glorious, the Favourite, the Treasure, the Viceroy, the Learned, the Governing, the Shelter, Saif ad-dīn Bahādur al-Badrī, the Sword-bearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### BAHĀDUR AL-ḤAMAWĪ

BLAZON: *Under an eagle looking to the left, a napkin.*

HANDWARMER, upper part of, R. Museo Nazionale, Florence, Coll. Carrand No. 370. Pl. XVII.

Three shields intersecting the inscription, a fourth in the centre of the object.

مما عمل برسم الجنب الكريم العالى المولوى الأوامرى الكبيرى المحترمى  
المخدومى السيفى الدين ○ بهادر الحموى رأس نو[بة] الجمداية الملكى  
الناصرى ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Honourable and High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Honoured, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Bahādur al-Ḥamawī, Chief of the Corps of jamdārs of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

The difficulty in the attribution of this blazon centres in the fact that our Bahādur is called an-Nāṣirī, whereas the only Bahādur with whom the holder of this emblem

could be identified, namely S. Bahādur *ra's nauba*,<sup>1</sup> was killed 15th Muḥarram 693 (16th December 1293), three days before the first Mamluk Sultan bearing the title of al-Malik an-Nāṣir ascended the throne.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās mentions in his narrative of the events of the year 693 A.H. a certain Bahādur, *ra's naubat an-nuwwāb*,<sup>3</sup> but this date is again prior to Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's accession to the throne, and the title altogether much too high for our Bahādur.

### BAHĀDUR AL-MANJAKĪ<sup>4</sup>

S. Bahādur b. 'Abdallāh al-Manjakī, of Christian origin,<sup>5</sup> a freed mamluk of and major-domo to S. Manjak al-Yūsufī, Viceroy of Syria, became a favourite of Barqūq who made him Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, and appointed him major-domo, an office he held up to the time of his death on 1st Jumādā II 790 (Sunday, 7th June 1388).

BLAZON: *Five bars on round shield.*

COPPER BOWL, present owner unknown.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم الجناح العالي السيفي سيف الدين بهادر استادار مولانا الملك  
الأمراء كافل الممالك الشريفة بالشام المحروس

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), Saif ad-dīn Bahādur, major-domo to our Lord, the Viceroy of the noble provinces of Syria, the protected.*

DATE: Rogers attributed this blazon to Bahādur al-Mu'izzī. The attribution is obviously wrong as the latter, though he was in the service of Lājīn when Viceroy of Syria, never occupied the post of a major-domo to an amir. The only Bahādur who comes into question is Bahādur al-Manjakī, and the blazon may, therefore, be taken to date either from the very end of the year 759 (1358), or from the years between 771/775 (1369/70—

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 28, l. 4 b.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, cf. Ibn Iyās, I, p. 129, l. 11 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Iyās, I, p. 127, l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Duqmāq, IV, cf. Index (where the page reference is wrongly given); Šāliḥ b. Yahyā, pp. 215, l. 9, 232, l. 9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 94<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 95<sup>v</sup>, 96<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 262, l. 7 b, 268, l. penult, 269, l. 8, 316, l. 11.

<sup>5</sup> According to al-'Ainī, quoted by Ibn Taghribirdī, Bahādur was either an Anatolian or a European; according to Šāliḥ b. Yahyā (p. 215), he was an Armenian educated in Beyrouth.



1373/4), i.e. the period of Manjak's terms of office as Viceroy of Syria. The latter date is the more probable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 28, p. 129 f., fig. 48.

Reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 8, p. 10.

Mentioned: Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 272; *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 767.

### BAHĀDUR AZ-ZĀHIRĪ<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps identical with S. Bahādur az-Zāhirī, called Ḥājj Bahādur, appointed Grand Chamberlain (*hājib al-ḥujjāb*) by Kitbughā in 694 (began 21st November 1294), remained in office during the sultanate of Lājīn and the second reign of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, followed Muḥammad to Kerak, appointed Governor of Tripoli the 8th Muḥarram 709 (18th June 1309). Died the 18th or 20th Rabī' II 710 (14–16th September 1310).

BLAZON: *Sword on middle field of three-felded shield.*

CANDLESTICK, lower part of, Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 7229, formerly in the possession of M. Vitali Maggiar, Cairo.

Inscription twice intersected by shields.

المقرّ الاشرف العالی المولوی السیدی المخدومی ○ السیفی بهادر استادار [١] لعالیة  
الملکی الظاهری ○

*His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Bahādur, major-domo of al-Malik az-Zāhir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### BAIGHUDAMUR

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on united middle and lower fields a cup.*

SMALL CANDLESTICK, once in the collection Duseigneur,<sup>2</sup> present owner unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, V. 230 (ed. Constantinople IV. 62, l. 17); Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 33, l. 12, 39, l. 14, 43, l. 20, 57, l. 13, 81, l. 19, 108, l. 6, 130, l. 10, 131, l. 13, 133, l. 16, 134, l. 13, 140, l. 2, 143, l. 15 f., 151, l. 6, 153, l. 6; Quatremère, *SM*. II a, 14, II b, 23, 40, 42, 51; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 96<sup>r</sup>, v), Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 133, l. 16, 152, l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to a manuscript note of van Berchem, the candlestick passed into the possession of the

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی المولوی الأمیری السیفی بیغدمر الساقی الملکی

[Van Berchem] الناصری

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir, Saif ad-dīn Baighdamur,<sup>1</sup> the cup-bearer of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### BAKTAMUR <sup>2</sup>

Possibly identical with S. Baktamur b. 'Abdallāh, the *silahdār*, one of the mamluks of al-Malik az-Zāhir Baybars, became amir under Qalāūn, served as *hājib* at least during the years 693/6. About the end of 697 or early in 698 appointed Governor of Tripolis. In Rabī' II 698 (6th January–3rd February 1299), fled to Ghāzān. On his return he lived as amir in Cairo from the 10th Sha'bān 699 (1st May 1300) up to the time of his death in Shawwāl 703 (7th May–5th June 1304).

BLAZON: *Bow and two arrows on undivided field.*

POTSHERD, Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 2537.

Blazon on the outside, inscription on the inside of the sherd.

... المخدمی السیفی بکتمر ۱۱ ...

... the Well-Served Saif ad-dīn Baktamur ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin Pasha, Y.: *Description de quatre lampes en verre émaillé et armoirées*, p. 76 f., pl. II (omitting the ی of السیفی, and the last letter, most probably a *lām* after an *alif*).

Mentioned: Herz, *Catalogue*, p. 233.

### BAKTAMUR AL-ḤUSĀMĪ <sup>3</sup>

S. Baktamur al-Ḥusāmī, appointed Governor of Gaza the 5th Muḥarram 710 (4th June 1310), became Great Ḥājib of Damascus on the 3rd Rabī' II 711

Musée Diocésain at Angers. The keeper of the Museum informs me that no such candlestick is kept there at present.

<sup>1</sup> In van Berchem's copy the name could be read *بیغدم* as well; neither variant is satisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 2, l. 10, 24, l. 3, 37, l. 6, 43, l. 19 f., 47, ll. 11 ff., 48–9, 55, l. 15 f., 64, l. 20, 79, l. 14, 80, l. 9, 84, l. 4, 129, l. 3; *SM*. II b, p. 41 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 91<sup>r</sup>, v); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 88<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 127, l. 9, 144, l. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 147, l. 5 f., 152, l. 9; 173, l. penult., 174, l. penult.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 92<sup>r</sup>).

(19th August 1311), arrested the 1st Rabī' I, 715 (5th June 1315), appointed Governor of Alexandria the 16th Sha'bān 723 (20th August 1323),<sup>1</sup> died there the 4th Ramaḍān 724 (25th August 1324) as Governor.

BLAZON: *A three-fielded shield.*

PLATE, once in the possession of M. Mailly, Paris.

In the centre of the plate a heraldic shield.

المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری | الغازی المجاهدی المابطی الثاغری

| | لسیفی بکتمر العنمی الحسامی الجمقدار الناصری [Van Berchem]

*His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, Saif ad-dīn Baktamur al-'Anamī al-Ḥusāmī, jamaqdār of (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## BAKTŪMĀN<sup>2</sup>

BLAZON: *A cup displayed over the middle and lower fields of a three-fielded shield.*

COPPER VASE, at one time in the possession of M. Suarès, Cairo.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی | المولوی الأمير الکبیر<sup>?</sup> | العالی العا<sup>?</sup> | دلی الهامی  
النظامی | المخدومی البدری بدر الدین | بکتومان القربی<sup>?</sup> الناصری

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Learned, the Just, the Shelter, the Regent,<sup>3</sup> the Well-Served, Badr ad-dīn Baktūmān al-Qirabī, (officer) of (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, *Le Blason*, No. 5, p. 114, fig. 25.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥajar gives a different date, viz. 716 (1316/17), in both the Damascus and the British Museum MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The rendering of this name, like that of several other words of the inscription, is hardly correct. As no trace of this object could be found, it was deemed useless to speculate on the correct form of the name, so that Rogers's transcription has been accepted, the doubtful words having been indicated by the present writer with a question mark.

<sup>3</sup> These three epithets, placed by Rogers at the end of the text, obviously belong to the middle of the inscription, where the enigmatic *ولی* is self-explanatory as the second part of the word *العادل*.

BAKTŪT AL-QARAMĀNĪ<sup>1</sup>

B. Baktūt al-Qaramānī, a mamluk of Qalāūn, dubbed in 698, in 709 taster in Cairo, in 711 sent by Muḥammad b. Qalāūn to Damascus as Inspector of Chanceries (*shādd ad-dawāwīn*), appointed Governor of Hims, became amir in Damascus, sent by Tankiz to Sīs in 724, arrested in the fortress of Damascus the 27th Jumādā I 726 (1st May 1326), brought to Cairo the 19th Shawwāl (18th September) and imprisoned in the Qal'at al-Jabal. After seven years' imprisonment released on the 1st Muḥarram 734 (12th September 1333), and installed as Amir of Forty; made the pilgrimage in Shawwāl 735 (May-June 1335). Died of the plague in 749 (1348).

BLAZON: *Red table (khānja) on silver middle field, the colour of the upper and lower fields now unknown, the inlay having been removed.*

CANDLESTICK, in the possession of Messrs. Stora, Boulevard Haussman, Paris. Pl. XXXII.

Two shields on the body proper, two on the upper part of the body, and three on the neck of the candlestick.

Inscription on body of the candlestick:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری ○ المالکی البدری بدر  
الدين بکتو' القرمانی الملکی الناصری ○

On the upper part of the body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری المالکی البدری بدر  
الدين بکتوت القرمانی الملکی الناصری

On neck:

المقرّ العالی المولوی الأ○ میری الکبیری البدری بدر الدين ○ بکتوت القرمانی<sup>2</sup>  
الناصری ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Royal, Badr ad-dīn Baktūt al-Qaramānī, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāsir.*

<sup>1</sup> CR. 1910, p. 80; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 178, ll. 21 ff., 187, ll. 11 ff., 190, l. 12; SM. II b, 128; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 92<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> المالکی omitted.

DATE: On a marble slab commemorating the foundation of a mosque, Baktūt is styled in 709 A.H. *janāb*, on the candlestick *al-maqarr al-‘ālī*. The candlestick must, therefore, have been made either between Baktūt's first outstanding promotion after 709 and his death, i.e. between 712 and 749, or, what is more probable, between 735 (his promotion to the rank of an Amir of Forty) and 749.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced on an advertisement sheet of Messrs. Stora, Paris, attached to the portfolio of Les Amis de l'Art Musulman, Alexandria.

## BARAKA

Perhaps identical with Z. Baraka al-Jūbānī,<sup>1</sup> *ra's naubat al-Mansūrī*, appointed *amīr majlis* in 779 (1377/8), built an aqueduct from 'Ain al-Azraq to Mecca in 781 (1379/80), made an attack on his brother, the Great Amir, and, being defeated, was imprisoned in Alexandria and executed in 782 (1380).<sup>2</sup> Buried there outside the Bāb Rashīd.

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on each of the middle and lower fields a cup.*

MOSQUE in ruins, Kerak.

Inscription above the lintel of the main entrance flanked by two shields.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . جَدَّدَ عِمَارَةَ هَذَا الْبَابِ الْمُبَارَكِ وَالرَّكْنِ الْمُبَارَكِ الْمَقَرَّ

(2) الْأَشْرَفِ الزَّيْنِيِّ بَرَكَةَ رَأْسِ نُوْبَةِ الْمَلِكِيِّ الْمَنْصُورِيِّ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ مِنْ مَالِهِ

(3) الْمُبَارَكِ بِسَفَارَةِ الْمَقَرِّ السَّيْفِيِّ مَيْتَكَلِي الطَّرْخَانِيِّ نَائِبِ الْكَرْكِ الْمَحْرُوسِ أَثَابَهُ

اللَّهُ

(4) وَذَلِكَ فِي سَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَثَمَانِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ<sup>3</sup>

*In the name of the most merciful God. Renewed the construction of this blessed door and buttress with his own blessed money His Most Noble Excellency Zain ad-dīn Baraka, Chief of a Corps of*

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 449, 451; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 242, ll. 4, 12, 14, 243, ll. 2, 14, 244, l. 5, 245, ll. 3, 12, 16 ff., 248, l. 13, 252, ll. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn Iyās, I, p. 252, l. 18, Baraka died in 781.

<sup>3</sup> The fourth line is written in different characters and is, perhaps, not contemporary with the main portion of the text.

pages of *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, may God make his victories glorious, with the help of His Excellency Saif ad-dīn Minklī<sup>1</sup> aṭ-Ṭarkhānī,<sup>2</sup> Governor of the protected Kerak, may God reward him. In the year 782 (7th April 1380–27th March 1381).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sauvaire in de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte*, II, p. 200, No. 18.

There being no other blazons that could have served for purposes of comparison, I have tentatively attributed these armorial bearings to Baraka and not to Minklī, although the chances of the blazon belonging to the latter are almost equal.

### BARAKA KHĀN<sup>3</sup>

Na. Muḥammad Baraka Khān,<sup>4</sup> son of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāḥib Baybars, born in Ṣafar 658 (began 17th January 1260), in 663 (1264/5) appointed successor to the throne, which, as al-Malik as-Sa'id, he ascended on the death of his father in 676. Died at Kerak in Dhu-l-Qa'da 678 (March 1280).

BLAZON: *Lion passant*.

SILVER COINS (*dirham*), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; National Library, Cairo; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Lion beneath the text of the reverse.

Damascus: 676 (1277/8), 677 (1278/9), 678 (1279/80) and others of uncertain date.

Cairo: date uncertain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. *Égypte et Syrie*, pp. 295–8; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo*, p. 248; id. *Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, p. 9.

<sup>1</sup> I have transliterated the name on the basis of Sauvaire's transcription of the Arabic original; Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. Manklibughā (MS. Berlin, fo. 166<sup>r</sup>), spells the name not only without a *yā* but with a *fatḥa* over the *mīm*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, I, p. 239, l. 26, mentions a certain Minklibughā aṭ-Ṭarkhānī, appointed Amir of Ten by al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. Sha'bān in 778.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 251, 254, 260, 262, 263, 265–6; Maqrīzī, *Muqaffa* s.v. (MS. Leyden, p. 67 ff.) *SM*. I b, pp. 154, 156 ff. II a, p. 9; Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 434, l. 3 b; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 103–4, 107 b, 109, l. 6, 110, l. 6 b, 111–14; Weil cf. Index; Sobernheim, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. Baibars I (English ed., I, 589).

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes spelt Qān.

BARQŪQ<sup>1</sup>

Barqūq, originally a mamluk of Jaqmaq, became Superintendent of the Cellar, in Rabi' I 873 (began 19th September 1468) promoted to the rank of a Commander of a Thousand, in Dhu-l-Hijja of the same year appointed Inspector of the Land (*kāshif at-turāb*) in the Sharqiyya-Province, in Ṣafar 875 (July 1470) appointed Viceroy of Syria. Died in Ramaḍān or Ṣhawwāl 877 (March 1473). Built a mausoleum in the Qarāfa, Cairo, and a shrine over the tomb of Shaikh 'Umar b. al-Fāriḍ.

BLAZON: *On golden upper field a silver napkin, on golden middle field a black cup charged with a silver pen-box and placed between a pair of black 'trousers of nobility' with silver openings, on black lower field a silver cup.*

HEAD OF A STANDARD, Treasury, Istanbul.

Two shields. The inscription of historical interest runs as follows:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف برقوق كافل المملكة الشامية عز نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble Excellency, Barqūq, Viceroy of Syria, may his victories be glorious.*

DATE: Between July 1470 and March 1473.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## BARQŪQ

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on both the middle and the lower fields a cup.*

COPPER BOX of cylindrical shape. Once in the possession of Ch. Gabeau. Pl. XLIX. 1.

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف العالي المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى السيفى برقوق

عين مقدمين<sup>2</sup> الألوف الملكى الأشرفى [Van Berchem]

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Barqūq, Commander designate of a Thousand of al-Malik al-Ashraf.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, VII, cf. Index, s.v. Barqūq an-Nāṣirī; Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 102, l. 15, 109, l. 28, 110, ll. 10, 14, 112, l. 9, 122, l. ult., 123, ll. 1, 20, 136, ll. 13 ff., 138, l. 3, 142, ll. 17 ff. (biography); Weil, V. 335 f.; *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> So in van Berchem's copy and in a reference to it *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 545, n. 4.

## BARSBĀY ASH-SHARAFĪ

Probably identical with Amir Barsbāy al-Ashrafī,<sup>1</sup> in 864 (1459/60) Marshal (*amīr akḥbūr*) of al-Malik al-Ashraf Aynāl, arrested the following year, leader of the Mecca caravan in 876 and 877. Died as *ustādār aṣ-ṣubḥa* in Jumādā I 878 (began 24th September 1473).

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a cup, on lower field a fleur-de-lis.*

BRASS BASIN, in the collection of R. A. Harari, Esq., London.

Inscription on the outside of the basin, intersected by four shields.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالی ○ لمولوى الأمير [ى] الكبيرى العونى  
الغياثى المجاهدى ○ المرباطى الهمامى النظامى الأعزى الأخصى التقى ○ المخدومى  
برسبای الشرفى المالكى الملكى الأشرفى ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Helper, the Rescuer, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Shelter, the Regent, the Most Glorious, the Favourite, the Well-Served, Barsbāy ash-Sharafī, the Royal, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

The word المالكى is misplaced and being crossed by another word سر which means nothing in its present context, shows perhaps that an attempt was made to erase the name of the amir for whom the basin was originally made.

BASHTĀK<sup>2</sup>

S. Bashtāk an-Nāṣirī held a fief, the revenue from which was equal to seventeen times the salary of an Amir of Forty; appointed Viceroy of Syria by Muḥam-

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḥūm*, VII, pp. 547, l. 5, 697, l. 3; *Ḍaw'* s.v.; Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 129, l. 8 b, 132, ll. 13 b, 11 b, 133, l. 4 b, 139, l. 6 b, 147, ll. 5, 7 b.

<sup>2</sup> Jacob of Verona, ed. Röhrich, *ROL*, t. III. 1895, p. 250, Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, cf. Index; Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. with indication of spelling (MS. Berlin, fo. 37<sup>v</sup>); *Wāfi*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23357, fo. 23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>); Khalīl az-Zāhirī, *Zubda*, pp. 29, l. 18, 31, l. 4; Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, II, pp. 34, 70 (2nd ed., III, pp. 54 ff., 113 f.); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 90<sup>r</sup>, v); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal* (MS. Paris,



mad b. Qalāūn when the latter was on his death-bed; arrested by Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhṛī after the Sultan's death, imprisoned in Alexandria and there executed in Rabī' II 742 (began 14th September 1341).

BLAZON: *Upper field self-coloured, on white middle field a red napkin, lower field red.*

1. BATH, Shāri' Hammām Bashtāk, Cairo.

One shield in the upper part of the porch.

Inscription above the entrance door.

أمر بإنشاء هذه الحمام المباركة المقرّ الأشرف العالى المولى الأميرى الكبيرى  
السيفى بشتاك الملكى الناصرى دام عزّه

*Ordered to build this blessed bath, His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Bashtāk, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may his glory last for ever.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, l.c., pp. 33-6, 1 pl.

Reproduced: Briggs, *Mubammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, fig. 70; Fago, *Arte Araba*, pl. XXXIV, 2; Devonshire, *Rambles*, pl. 94; Herz, *Islam*, fig. 187.

Mentioned: Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 101.

2. GLASS LAMP, Collection of H.H. Prince Yūsuf Kamāl, Cairo. Pl. XXVIII. 2.

Six shields, three on the neck, three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on body:

المقرّ الشريف العالى المولى الأميرى الكبيرى المحترمى المخدومى السيفى بشتاك  
الناصرى عزّ نصره

*His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Honoured, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Bashtāk an-Nāṣirī, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 160, No. 30.

3. GLASS LAMP, fragment of, Arab Museum, Cairo, No. 4067.

Ar. 2069, fo. 80<sup>v</sup>); Weil, IV. 387, 415, 416; *CIA. Égypte*, I, pp. 182, 659, n. 3; Herz, 'Le Bain de l'Émir Bechtak' (in: *BIE*. 4<sup>e</sup> sér., No. 5, 1904), pp. 34 ff.

Originally at least three shields, of which only one on the lower part of the body left.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی الأميری السیدی [ . . . ] اشتك الملكی  
الناصری

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Amir, the Master . . . Bashtak (?), (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāsir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 133 f., pl. XIV.

### BĀYAZĪD

BLAZON: *On upper field pen-box, on middle field cup flanked by two smaller cups, on lower field napkin.*<sup>1</sup>

BRASS STAND FOR A TRAY, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 934—1884. Pl. LXV. 2.

The same inscription on both halves of the stand, intersected in each case by two shields.

الجناب العالی المولوی ا<sup>1</sup> ○ السیفی یازید امیر دوادار أعزّ أنصاره<sup>2</sup> ○

*His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, Saif ad-dīn Bāyazīd Amīr Dawādār, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 233.

### BAYBARS<sup>3</sup>

R. Baybars aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, born in 620 (1223), originally a mamluk of al-ʿImād aḍ-Ḍaʿī, then bought by Amir Aydakīn, passed into the service of al-Malik

<sup>1</sup> Similar blazon in colours, but without inscription on a fayence tile in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>2</sup> In the lower text دوادار is written by mistake with an additional *alif*.

<sup>3</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, IV, esp. p. 606 ff., V. 40 ff. (ed. Constantinople, esp. III. p. 216 f., IV. p. 10 f.); Kutubī, *Fawāt*, pp. 85 ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, cf. Index, s.v.; Quatremère, *SM*. I a, esp. p. 116, I b. esp. 150 f.; Ibn Taghrībī, *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 98<sup>v</sup> ff.); Muḥīr ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 432, ll. 3 b ff.; Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially I, pp. 98, 109–12; Weil, cf. Index, especially IV, pp. 19, 21 f., 98; Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, pp. 13 ff.; Sobernheim in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. (English ed., I, 588 f.).

aṣ-Ṣālīḥ Ayyūb, who freed him and made him Chief of the Corps of the *jamdārs*; passed into the service of Aybak, became Commander-in-Chief (*atābak al-'asākīr*) under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, elected Sultan on the 15th Dhu-l-Qa'da 658 (22nd October 1260). Assumed the title al-Malik aẓ-Zāhir. Died the 27th Muḥarram 676 (1st July 1277).

BLAZON: *Lion passant*.<sup>1</sup>

1. MADRASA of Baybars, Cairo.<sup>2</sup>

'Pair of panthers in tympanum of relieving work over first window in south-western façade.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Creswell, 'The Works of Sultan Bibars al-Bunduqdārī in Egypt' (in *BIFAO*, t. XXVI, 1926), p. 147 and pl. II.

Reproduced: Briggs, *Muḥammadan Architecture*, fig. 57; Devonshire, *Rambles*, p. 39.

2. BOSS of brass-plated door from the Madrasa of Baybars, Cairo, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bourgoïn, *Les Arts Arabes*, pl. 74; Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 223 f., fig. 83; Briggs, *Muḥammadan Architecture*, p. 223, fig. 232; Creswell, l.c., pp. 138, 147; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.) I. p. 388, II. pp. 69, 82.

3. FORTRESS, Kerak.

Inscription flanked by two lions, the latter now embedded on either side of the doorway at the Government Head-quarters, Kerak.

بِسْمِهِ . . . السُّلْطَانُ الْمَالِكُ الظَّاهِرُ السَّيِّدُ الْأَجَلُّ الْكَبِيرُ الْعَالِمُ الْعَادِلُ الْمُجَاهِدُ الْمُرَابِطُ  
الْمُؤَيَّدُ الْمُظَفَّرُ الْمَنْصُورُ رَكْنُ الدِّينِ وَالْدِينِ سُلْطَانُ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ سَيِّدُ الْمُلُوكِ  
وَالسُّلَاطِينَ قَاتِلُ الْكُفْرِ وَالْمَشْرِكِينَ نَا[صِر] الْحَقِّ مَغِيثُ الْخَلْقِ مَلِكُ الْبَحْرَيْنِ صَاحِبُ  
الْقِبْلَةِ خَادِمُ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ مَحْيِي الْخِلَافَةِ الْمُعْظَمَةِ ظَلُّ اللَّهِ فِي الْأَرْضِ قَسِيمُ  
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بَيْبَرَسُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الصَّالِحِيِّ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ سُلْطَانَهُ

<sup>1</sup> Maqrīzī, *Nuḡūd* (ed. Constantinople 1298 A.H.) p. 15, *Khīṭaṭ* II 146, ll. 7 b, penult. (2nd ed. III p. 238, ll. 12, 18), Ibn Iyās I, p. 110, l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Only monuments with inscriptions of Baybars appear in the following list. For heraldic lions found in buildings restored or repaired by Baybars, but without his inscriptions, see *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville* p. 435, nn. 1, 2; Creswell, l.c.; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.) I, p. 262 f.

*In the name of the most merciful God. The Sultan al-Malik aḡ-Zābir, the Most Magnificent Lord, the Great, the Learned, the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Helped by God, the Victorious, Ruken ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn, Sultan of the Islam and the Muslims, Lord of Kings and Sultans, Killer of unbelievers and polytheists, who makes the truth prevail, rescues the creatures, King of the two Seas, the Lord of the Qiblah, the Servant of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, the Restorer of the August Khalifate, God's shade on earth, the Associate of the Commander of the Faithful, Baybars, son of 'Abdallāh, aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, may God make his sultanate glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sauvaire in de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte*, II. 199.

Mentioned: van Berchem et Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, p. 144, and n. 1; *CLA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 435, n. 2; Creswell, l.c., p. 148 and pl. VIII B; de Saulcy, *Voyage*, I, 364, pl. XX.

#### 4. FORTRESS, Qal'at al-Huṣn.

Inscription over the entrance; the second line flanked by two lions.

(1) بسمه . . . [Lion] (2) أمر بتجديد هذا الحصن المبارك في دولة مولانا  
السلطان الملك الظاهر العالم [Lion] (3) العادل المجاهد الم رابط [المؤيد] المظفر  
المنصور ركن الدنيا والدين أبو الفتح بيبرس قسيم أمير المؤمنين وذلك بتاريخ  
نهار يوم الثلاثاء خامس وعشرين من شعبان سنة تسع وستين وستمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. It was ordered to renew this blessed fortress during the reign of our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik aḡ-Zābir, the Learned, the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Helped by God, the Victorious, Ruken ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn, Abul-Faḥ Baybars, the Associate of the Commander of the Faithful, on Tuesday, 25th Sha'bān 669 (8th April 1271).*

Two inscriptions on two round towers at the south-western and south-eastern corners of the enclosure, both flanked by panthers. Texts similar to the one quoted above except for the middle portion which mentions in each case Baybars and his heir al-Malik as-Sa'id; in the inscription at the south-eastern corner the latter is given the title *as-Sulṭān . . . Nāṣir ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rey, *Étude sur l'Architecture militaire des Croisés*, pp. 46, 272; van Berchem, 'Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie' (in *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte*, III), 482 f. and pl. VI. 12, VII. 14; Sobernheim, *CLA. Syrie du Nord*, p. 21 f.

Mentioned and reproduced: van Berchem et Fatio, l.c., I, pp. 141, n. 1, 144, 148, II, pl. XII, XIV.

Mentioned: Creswell, l.c., p. 149.

5. BRIDGE, Lydda, locally known as Jisr Jindās. Two inscriptions with identical texts, each flanked by a pair of lions, facing each other. In front of each lion a mouse (?).

(I) بسمه . . . وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وصحبه وآله أجمعين (2) أمر بعمارة هذا

الجسر المبارك مولانا السلطان الأعظم الملك الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس بن (3) عبد

الله في أيام ولده مولانا السلطان الملك السعيد ناصر الدين بركة خان أعز الله

أنصارهما وغفر لهما (4) وذلك بولاية العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله علاء الدين على

السواق غفر الله له ولوالديه في شهر رمضان سنة أحد وسبعين وستمائة]

*In the name of the most merciful God, whose blessings be on our Lord Muhammad and all his companions. Ordered to build this blessed bridge our Lord, the most August Sultan al-Malik az-Zābir, Ruken ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn, Baybars son of 'Abdallāh, in the time of his son, our Lord the Sultan al-Malik as-Sa'īd Nāṣir ad-dīn Baraka Khān, may God make their victories glorious and forgive both of them. This (was done) under the direction of the servant yearning for the mercy of God 'Alā' ad-dīn 'Alī as-Sawwāq, may God have mercy on him and on his parents, in the month of Ramaḍān 671 (began 22nd March 1273).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clermont Ganneau, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'histoire arabes' (in *Journal Asiatique*, 8<sup>e</sup> série, t. X, pp. 509-27 and pl., t. XII, pp. 305-10, 2 pl.). Partly reprinted in Cl.-G.'s *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, pp. 262-79, and re-edited in his *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II, pp. 110-18, 470; *Jerusalem War*, LXIX (1913), pp. 92 f., 100.

Mentioned and reproduced: Creswell, l.c., pp. 146, 149, and pl. X B.

Mentioned: Conder, *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 264 f.

6. FORT, to the west of Alexandria, in 1847 known as Qaṣr al-'Umaid, since disappeared.

'Inscription . . . explaining that this castle was built by Ahmad-el-Tahir-el-Yasmuti, under the orders of Bibars, Sultan of Egypt, whose arms appear beneath in the shape of two lions rampant.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bayle St. John, *Adventures in the Libyan Desert*, p. 173, quoted by Creswell, l.c., pp. 152, 192.

7. COINS, in many collections in Europe, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

Lion passant to left on gold and silver coins (*dīnār* and *dirham*) beneath the text of the reverse, on copper coins (*fiṣ*) in the middle of the reverse, between the words السلطان and الملك الظاهر.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, IV. 140-5 and pl. VI; id. *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo*, pp. 244-7; id. *Catalogue of the Mohammedan Coins preserved in the Bodleian Library*, p. 9; Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. *Egypte et Syrie*, pp. 277-94.

### BAYBARS JĀLIQ<sup>1</sup>

R. Baybars b. 'Abdallāh aṣ-Ṣāliḥī an-Najmī, called *al-Jāliq* ('a strong and frolicsome horse'), *jamdār* under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, dubbed amir by Baybars, later sent to Damascus. Died in Ramleh the 10th Jumādā I 707 (7th November 1307). Buried in Jerusalem.

BLAZON: *Fleur-de-lis with eleven leaves, instead of three, on an undivided shield.*

MAUSOLEUM, locally known as Dār al-Bāshkātib, Jerusalem, situated at the corner of the Ṭarīq Bāb as-Silsila (David Street) and al-Wād.

Two shields both at the beginning and at the end of the first line of the inscription.

Inscription above the lintel of the window in the south wall.

○ بسمه . . . هذه تربة الأمير الأجل ○ (2) الكبير الغازي المجاهد الرابط في  
سبيل الله تعالى ركن الدين (3) بيبس الجالق الصالحى توفاً الى رحمة الله تعالى  
عاشر (4) جمادى الأول سنة سبع وسبعمئة غفر الله له ولمن دعا له بالرحمة

*In the name of the most merciful God. This is the mausoleum of the most Magnificent and Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers in the path of God the Exalted, Rukn ad-dīn Baybars al-Jāliq aṣ-Ṣāliḥī. Passed into the mercy of God the Exalted the 10th Jumādā I of the year 707 (7th November 1307), may God forgive him and whosoever asks (God's) mercy for him.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: van Berchem, *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, No. 72, p. 223 f., pl. LV.

<sup>1</sup> Nuwairī, s.a. 707 (MS. Leyden, fo. 38<sup>v</sup> b); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 311; Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23357, fo. 76<sup>v</sup>); Quatremère, *JM*. I b, p. 101, II a, p. 11, II b, p. 60, 281; Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 96<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 105<sup>v</sup>); Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 396, ll. 1-4 (Sauvage, p. 160); Weil, IV. 116, 211; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 224.

BAYBUGHĀ<sup>1</sup>

S. Baybughā al-Qāsimī, known as Baybughārūs,<sup>2</sup> a page (*khāṣṣakī*) of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, first came to be known under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismaʿīl, was *amīr majlis* under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji, in 748 (1347) appointed Viceroy of Egypt; arrested the 26th Dhu-l-Qaʿda 751 (25th January 1351) while on his pilgrimage, and imprisoned in Kerak. Appointed Governor of Aleppo by al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ in Shaʿbān 752 (began 23rd September 1351). Stirred up a rebellion which proved unsuccessful. Beheaded early in 754 (1353).

BLAZON: *On the middle field of a three-fielded shield a cup placed between two six-petalled rosettes.*

PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Aleppo, at one time known as the Qaṣṭal Ḥammām at-Tall, now turned into a shop.

The inscription, intersected by the shield, is illegible, being partly covered with a thick layer of plaster, and for the rest having had paper pasted over it.

Above this, another inscription, without armorial bearings, but most probably by the same amir.

(1) أمر بعمارة هذا السبيل المبارك الجنب العالی العلانی الملکی<sup>3</sup> (2) الصالحی بإشارة  
المقر الأشرف الأمير بیغا کافل الملكة (3) الحلیة أعزّ الله أنصاره في شهور سنة  
ثلاث وخمسين وسبعمائة من الهجرة النبویة

*Ordered to build this blessed public fountain His High Excellency (janāb), 'Alā' ad-dīn (officer) of al-Malik<sup>3</sup> aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, under the supervision of His Most Noble Excellency, the Amīr Baybughā, Viceroy of the province of Aleppo, may God make his victories glorious. In the months of the year 753 of the Hijra of the Prophet (1352/3).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bischoff, *Tuḥaf al-anbā'*, p. 156 (several mistakes, blazon not mentioned).

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 386, 395, 396; Ibn Hajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 96<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>r</sup>); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 108<sup>v</sup>-109<sup>v</sup>) and s.v. Ḥājji (ib. 2070, fo. 13<sup>r</sup>, l. 1); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 185, l. 13 b, 189, ll. 6-11, 190, l. 11, 193, l. 5 b, 195, ll. 10, 11, 10 b, 5 b ff., 196, ll. 4, 7, 9 b ff., 200, l. 9, 201, l. 6. Weil, cf. Index; Ṭabbākh, *A'lām*, II, 431 ff.

<sup>2</sup> More correctly spelt in two words: بسغا اروس. Urūs is a Tatar tribe (*Manḥal*, l. c.).

<sup>3</sup> In Bischoff's text المولوی which, from the position of this word in the series of titles, must have been intended for الملکی. To-day the word is no longer visible, being hidden behind a shelf.

BAYSARĪ<sup>1</sup>

B. Baysarī aṣ-Ṣāliḥī ash-Shamsī, one of the mamluks of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, made Commander of a Thousand by Baybars I on the latter's accession to the throne, in 677 (1278) imprisoned by Baraka Khān, became one of the most powerful amirs under Salāmish, in 681 (1282/3) imprisoned for a second time, released in 690 (1291), imprisoned in 693 (1294), released, and finally put in prison in 697 (1297/8) where he died the following year, over seventy years old.

BLAZON: *Double-beaded eagle.*

BRASS HANDWARMER, British Museum.

Two inscriptions, one on each hemisphere, each accompanied by shields.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الكريم العالى المولى الأمير الكبيرى المحترى الخدومى  
الإسفسلارى المجاهدى الرابطى الثاغرى المؤيدى المظفرى المنصورى البدرى بدر  
الدين بيسرى الظاهرى السعيدى الشمسى عز نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Honoured, the Well-Served, the Commander, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped by God, the Victorious, Badr ad-dīn Baysarī, (officer) of (al-Malik) aṣ-Ṣāliḥī (and) of (al-Malik) aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, ash-Shamsī, may his victory be glorious.*

DATE: Between 1264 and 1279.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, l.c., p. 209 ff., fig. 81.

Mentioned and reproduced: Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.) II, p. 70, fig. 249.

Mentioned: van Berchem, *Notes III*, p. 37 and n.

BILBĀY AL-ʿALĀʾĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Bilbāy al-ʿAlāʾī aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, Amir of Ten, in Ṣafar 873 (began 21st August 1468) appointed Governor of Alexandria, in 875 (1470/1) Governor of Safad. Died Rajab 879 (began 11th November 1474), as a sexagenarian.

<sup>1</sup> Mufaḍḍal, especially pp. 139, 290, 323, 385, 435, 467. Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 294, 297; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 91, l. 7, 99, l. 3, 112, l. 3 b, 114, l. 12 f., 115, l. 4 b, 124-5, 127, l. 9, 131, l. 4; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 69, l. 23, SM. I a, 57, II b, 135, n., 137 f.; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 112<sup>r</sup>, v). Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 210 f.; Van Berchem, l.c. pp. 23, 24, n. 1, 35, n. 1; *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 118 (and further lit.).

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 100, l. 4 b, 125, l. 5, 154, l. 16.



BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER PLATE, tinned over, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4121.

Inscription intersected by three shields.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى المولى ○ المالكى المخدمى العضى  
الذخرى ○ السيفى بلباى العلانى كافل الملكة الصفدية عزّ نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, the Supporter, the Treasure, Saif ad-dīn Bilbāy al-ʿAlāʾī, Viceroy of the province of Safad, may his victory be glorious.*

DATE: Between 875 and 879 (1470/1-1474/5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### DAMURDĀSH AL-ASHRAFĪ<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a cup, on middle field a cup placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field two cups.*

1. LUNCH-BOX (*maṭbaqiyya*), in the collection of J. Home, Esq., Cairo. Pl. LXV. 1. Four shields and an inscription on lid and the same on the body. The fuller of the two inscriptions, the one on the body, is reproduced here.

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالى المولى السيفى دمرداش الملكى الأشرفى امير  
دوادار المقام الشريف بحلب المحروسة عزّ أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, Saif ad-dīn Damurdāsh, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf, Amīr Damādār of His Majesty in Aleppo, the protected, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. COPPER PLATE, once in the collection of Sulaiman Pasha Abaza, later in that of Rogers Bey, then in that of Mrs. Sheldon Amos, present owner unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Pronunciation indicated in words in *Manḥal*, s.v. Damurdāsh al-Yūsufī (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 72<sup>v</sup>, l. 8 b).

مما عمل برسم الجناح العالی المولوی المالکی المخدمی السیفی دمرداش المالکی  
الأشرفی دوادار المقام الشریف [بـ] حلب المحروسة عزّ أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Damurdāsh, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf, Dawādār of His Majesty in Aleppo, the protected, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, p. 426, fig. 38 (Germ. ed.); Artin, *Contribution*, No. 91, p. 121.

### DAMURDĀSH AL-MUḤAMMADĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Damurdāsh al-Muḥammadī, a mamluk of Barqūq, served as armour-bearer (*silāḥdār*) during Barqūq's first reign, dubbed amir on Barqūq's second accession to the throne, appointed Governor of Hama, where he remained till he was transferred in 795 (began 17th November 1392) to Tripoli as Governor; the following year arrested, but shortly afterwards released and appointed Commander-in-Chief in Aleppo; succeeded Yūnus Baltā as Governor of Hama; after the suppression of Tanam's rebellion, in which he took part, appointed Governor of Aleppo, which he entered the 1st Ramaḍān 802 (26th April 1400). Deposed in Muḥarram 804 (August 1401) after an unsuccessful fight with Duqmāq, his successor in office, fled to the Turcomans; returned nearly a year later, in Dhu-l-Ḥijja 804 (July 1402) appointed Governor of Tripoli, the 18th Rajab 806 (31st January 1404), transferred to Aleppo for a third time, remained in office from Ramaḍān 806 to Sha'bān 807 (13th March 1404/February 1405); dismissed from office, returned to the Turcomans; in 808 returned to Syria, the 24th Rabī' I 808 (19th September 1405) appointed Governor of Gaza, made unsuccessful attempts to obtain possession of Aleppo and Hama, became Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, in 810 (1407/8) appointed Governor of Safad, after Jakam's death transferred again to Aleppo which was shortly afterwards taken from him by Shaikh. Appointed Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, on the 15th Muḥarram

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, especially VI, pp. 3, l. 13, 39, l. 6, 93, l. 3, 100, l. 14, 131, l. 3, 204, l. 18, 232, l. 15, 244, l. 13, 305, l. 11, 316, l. 6, 333, l. 13, 343, l. 15, 451, l. 14 ff.; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 72<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>r</sup>); *Daw'*, s.v.; Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially I, pp. 322, l. 5 b, 324, ll. 9, 11, 334, l. 11, 342, l. 14 f.; Weil, V. 78, 85, 102, 109, 110, 115, 117-19, 121, 123, 131, 132; Cheikh in Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, p. 56, n. 1; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām an-nubalā'*, II. 485 f., 504-10.

815 (27th April 1412) appointed Viceroy of Syria, fled the 11th Ṣafar (23rd May 1412), in Ramaḍān of the same year arrested after his return to Cairo, executed in the prison of Alexandria the 18th Muḥarram 818 (30th March 1415). Completed the mosque begun by Aqbughā al-Hadbānī al-Aṭrūsh in Aleppo, and built a monastery (*ẓāwiya*) in Tripoli.

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on both the middle and lower field a cup.*

MOSQUE, Aleppo. Pl. LIV. 4.

Inscription over the main entrance door covered over with whitewash and therefore illegible.

Inscription on the lintel of the side door, flanked by two shields.

(1) عَمَّرَ هَذَا الْجَامِعَ الْمَبْرُورَ ابْتِغَاءَ لُوجِهِ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى الْمُقَرَّرَ الْأَشْرَفَ الْعَالِيَّ الْمَوْلَوِيَّ  
 الْعَالِيَّ الْعَادِلِيَّ الْمَخْدُومِيَّ الْكَافِلِيَّ (2) السَّيْفِيَّ دَمْرَدَاشَ النَّاصِرِيَّ مَوْلَانَا مَلِكَ الْأُمَرَاءِ  
 كَافِلَ الْمَمْلُوكَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَتَيْنِ الْحَلَبِيَّةِ وَالطَّرَابُلُسِيَّةِ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ وَضَاعَفَ اقْتِدَارَهُ  
 (3) بِمُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ بِتَوَلَّى الْعَبْدَ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى يُوسُفَ الْأَشْرَفِيَّ وَكَانَ الْفَرَاغُ  
 مِنْهُ سَلَخَ شَعْبَانَ الْمَكْرَمِ سَنَةِ اثْنَا عَشَرَ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ

*In his desire to please God the Exalted built this pious mosque His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Learned, the Just, the Well-Served, the Viceroyal Saif ad-dīn Damurdāsh an-Nāṣirī, our Lord, Governor-General, Viceroy of the two Noble Provinces of Aleppo and Tripoli, may God make his victories glorious and double his power through Muḥammad and his family. Under the supervision of the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Yūsuf al-Ashrafī. It was completed the last day of the honoured Sha'bān of the year 812 (6th January 1410).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## DUQMĀQ<sup>1</sup>

S. Duqmāq al-Muḥammadī, a freed mamluk and page of Barqūq, on Barqūq's second accession to the throne dubbed Amir of a Hundred, in 796 appointed

<sup>1</sup> *Niyyūm*, especially VI, pp. 10, l. 13, 23, l. 17, 42, l. 17, 90, l. 4, 93, l. 2, 109, l. 5; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS.

Governor of Malaṭia; on his dismissal from office returned to Cairo the 9th Dhu-l-Qa'da 801 (13th July 1399). In Rabi' II 802 (December 1399) appointed Second Chamberlain, the 28th Ramaḍān 802 (23rd May 1400) appointed Governor of Hama; imprisoned by Timur in 803, fled to Egypt, in the same year appointed Governor of Safad, on the 22nd Muḥarram 804 (1st September 1401) replaced Damurdāsh as Governor of Aleppo, where he remained till he fled in 806, fearing arrest; after the Sa'īdiyya-event appointed Governor of Hama. Killed by Jakam outside Hama, in Rajab 808 (began 23rd December 1405). Built a mausoleum outside Aleppo.

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on both the middle and the lower field a cup.*

CITY GATE, Aleppo, called Bāb Anṭākiya. Pl. LIII. 1.

Above the entrance underneath the arch. Inscription set in a tabula ansata-frame, flanked by four shields.

(1) عزّ يد(و)م ونعمة وسعادة لمقام مالكنّا المليك الناصري ملك المشارق  
 (2) والمغرب خادم الحرمين عهد من أبيه الظاهري أمر (3) بتجديده بعد دثوره  
 مولانا المقرّ الأشرف السيفي دقماق (4) الملكي الناصري كافل الملكة الشريفة  
 الحليّة المحروسة أعزّ الله تعالى أنصاره [To the right] بتأريخ شهر شعبان  
 سنة أربع وثمانمائة [To the left]

*Glory may last and grace and happiness for His Majesty, our King, al-Malik an-Nāṣir, King of the East and the West, Servant of both Ḥarams (scil. at Mecca and Madina), inheritor of his father (al-Malik) aḡ-Zābir. Ordered its renewal after its destruction our Lord, His Most Noble Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Duqmāq, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, Viceroy of the noble and protected province of Aleppo, may God make his victories glorious. In the month of Sha'bān of the year 804 (began 6th March 1402).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Van Berchem, *Inschriften Oppenheim*, No. 52, p. 43.

Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 71<sup>v</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>); *Ḍaw'*, s.v.; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 303, l. 7, 322, l. 5, 324, l. 11, 334, l. 13, 337, l. 2, 342, l. 13; Weil, V. 78, 102, 104, 109; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām an-nubalā'*, II, 504, V. 149 f.

## FĀṬIMA BINT SŪDŪN AL-MU'AYYADĪ

The father of Fāṭima is probably identical with S. Sūdūn al-Abūbakrī,<sup>1</sup> originally a mamluk of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh, in course of time became one of the amirs of Aleppo, in 842 (1438/9) appointed Grand Chamberlain of Aleppo, in 850 Commander-in-Chief of the same province, in 855 succeeded Bayghūt min Ṣafar Khujā as Governor of Hama, before the 15th Sha'bān 856 (31st August 1452) dismissed from office. Later appointed Commander-in-Chief of Aleppo, died in the last days of Ramaḍān 865 (early in July 1461).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with two small cups, on lower field a cup.*

1. COPPER BOWL tinned over, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 557-78. Pl. LIX. 2. 3.  
Two shields.

(1) مَّا عَمِلَ بِرَسْمِ السَّتِّ فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتُ الْمُقَرَّرِ الْأَشْرَفِ السَّيْفِيِّ سُوْدُونِ الْمُؤَيَّدِيِّ

(2) مَوْلَانَا مَلِكُ الْأَمْرَاءِ بِحِمَاةِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ كَانَ تَغْمِدُهُ الْإِلَهِ بِرَحْمَتِهِ

*This is one of the objects made for Lady Fāṭima, daughter of His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Sūdūn al-Mu'ayyadī, formerly Governor-General of Hama, the protected, may God cover him with his mercy.*

DATE: After 865 A.H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. COPPER DISH tinned over, present owner unknown.

[Sauvaget] مَّا عَمِلَ بِرَسْمِ السَّتِّ فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتُ الْمُقَرَّرِ الْمَرْحُومِ سُوْدُونِ الْمُؤَيَّدِيِّ

*This is one of the objects made for Lady Fāṭima, daughter of His late Excellency Sūdūn al-Mu'ayyadī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, VII, pp. 107, l. 16, 229, l. 7, 252, l. 10, 572, l. 11, 767, l. 4; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 133 v); *Daw'*, s.v.; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām*, V. 276.

GHĀZĪ B. ABĪ BAKR<sup>1</sup>

Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, in 608 (1211/12) received ar-Ruhā' (Edessa) and Sarūj from his father, in 617 recognized as heir of his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf, exchanged these two towns for Khalāṭ and Mayāfāriqīn, in 621 (1224) lost Khalāṭ as result of an unsuccessful revolt against al-Malik al-Ashraf, in 627 (began 20th November 1229) conquered Arzan, near Diarbekr, died in 642 (1244/5).

BLAZON: *A lion facing a man (? or a fish?)*.

CITY GATE ('Harrān Gate'), Urfa. Pl. I. 8.

Inscription on the inner face of the gate, above two blazons.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ (1)

(2) امر بعمارة مولانا السلطان الملك المظفر العالم العادل المؤيد المنصور شهاب  
الدنيا والدين أبي الفتح شاه غازي بن السلطان الملك العادل أبو بكر بن أيوب  
بولاية الفقير الى رحمة الله كافر العادلي (one word) الدولة

... Ordered the building of this (Gate) our Lord, the Sultan, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, the Learned, the Just, the Helped (by God), the Victorious, Shihāb ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn Abu-l-Fatḥ Shāh Ghāzī, son of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, under the direction of the one yearning for the mercy of God, Kāfūr al-ʿĀdilī . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## ḤAIDAR B. AL-ʿASKARĪ

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on united middle and lower fields a fleur-de-lis.*

MOSQUE in ruins, corner of az-Zanbīl and Jāddat Sūq al-Maidān Streets, Damascus. Pl. XIX. 2.

One shield in the fourth line of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, IV, pp. 246, 292-4, 322, 366, 468, 478, ed. Constantinople, III, pp. 120, l. 12, 133, ll. 13-16, 140 b-141 t, 153, l. 8 b, 178 b, 181, l. 4 b; Weil, III. 469.

The inscription is embedded in the only niche left of the mosque to-day, several words are covered partly or wholly with plaster and therefore illegible, a few words hammered away.

The beginning of the text runs as follows:

(1) بسمه . . . بتاريخ العشر الأوسط من ربيع الآخر سنة أربع وثمانين  
وسبعمئة (2) امر بنقش جهات الوقف على مصالح المسجد المعمور بذكر الله تعالى  
بانيه وواقفه الفقير الى الله تعالى (3) الجناب الشهابي حيدر بن العسكري تقبل  
الله منه وجهات الوقف المذكور الخ

*In the name of the most merciful God. On the date of the middle third of Rabī' II of the year 784 (end of June–beginning of July 1382) ordered to engrave these particulars of the waqf endowed in favour of the mosque, prosperous by worship of God the Exalted, its builder and founder, the one yearning for God the Exalted, His Excellency (janāb), Shihāb ad-dīn Ḥaidar son of al-'Askarī, may God accept (this offering) from him. The particulars of the above-mentioned endowment are (as follows), &c.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## HĀJJĪ<sup>1</sup>

Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar S. Ḥājjī b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, born 732, arrested in Jumādā I 747, acceded to the throne the 1st Jumādā II 747 (19th September 1346), killed the 12th Ramaḍān 748 (16th December 1347).

BLAZON: *Fleur-de-lis on undivided field.*

1. COPPER COIN (*fil's*), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*Obv.* In centre: Fleur-de-lis within double circle, plain and dotted.

Rev. الملك المظفر  
بحلب

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. *Égypte et Syrie*, No. 870, p. 356, pl. VII.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 384, 387; *Durar*, s.v. (Br.Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 103<sup>v</sup>–104<sup>r</sup>); Šāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, pp. 176–7; *Khitaṭ*, II, p. 240, ll. 14 ff. (2nd ed. III, p. 390, ll. 12 ff.); *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 12<sup>r</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 174, l. 18, 184–9, 210, l. 16; Weil, IV. 469, 470, 475.

2. COPPER COIN (*fls*), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.

*Obv.* In centre: Fleur-de-lis within circle.

On margin obliterated inscription:

ضرب . . . سبعمائه

*Rev.* In centre:

جى  
حا

On margin obliterated inscription:<sup>1</sup>

السلطان الملك . . . الدين

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lavoix, l.c., Nos. 873 and 874, p. 357, pl. VII.

### ḤALĪMA BINT AN-NĀNIQ (?)

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH tinned over. Collection M. Eustache de Lorey,<sup>2</sup> Paris. Pl. LXII. 8, 11. Inscription intersected by a shield.

برسم حليلة بنت النانق<sup>3</sup>

*For Ḥalīma, daughter of an-Nāniq.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ḤUSAIN B. QAUṢŪN

BLAZON: *Two-fielded shield, upper field self-coloured, on lower field a red cup.*

STAND FOR A TRAY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Inscription on upper half (*a*)

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالى او ملوى الأميرى الكبرى الغازى

<sup>1</sup> Text compiled from portions legible on both specimens mentioned in the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> This dish, together with other objects in the collection of M. de Lorey, will be fully published by Prof. Wiet.

<sup>3</sup> My reading of this name is doubtful, the second part of it being perhaps دسى. A name تنقى exists, cf. Ibn Iyās, Index, s.v. تنقى باى, but not in composition with ال. Cf. also the name دانق (p. 171).



Inscription on lower half (b)

المخدومي الحسامي حسين بن المقرّ المرحوم ○ السيفي قوصون الملكي الناصري

Inscription on the embossed collar (c)

○ ممّا عمل برسم الجنب العالي المولوى ○ الأمير الكبيرى النخ

(a) *This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, (b) the Well-Served, Ḥusām ad-dīn Ḥusain, son of His late Excellency Saif ad-dīn Qauṣūn, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

(c) So far as is visible on the photograph repetition of (a) up to 'the Great Amir'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dimand, 'Near Eastern Metalwork' (in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXI, 1926, p. 199 and fig. 6).

### IBRĀHĪM B. 'ABD AR-RAZZĀQ<sup>1</sup>

Sa'd ad-dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Alam ad-dīn 'Abd ar-Razzāq b. Shams ad-dīn Ghurāb, of a family of Coptic officials,<sup>2</sup> qādī, started his career under Jamāl ad-dīn Maḥmūd al-Ustādār, the 19th Dhu-l-Ḥijja 798 (23rd September 1396) became Keeper of the Privy Purse (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*) before he was twenty years old, in addition to which he obtained the post of an Inspector of the Army (*nāẓir al-jaiṣ*) under Faraj. On his dismissal the 19th Rabī' II 802 (19th December 1399) his property was confiscated, but shortly afterwards he was reappointed, then repeatedly dismissed from office but reappointed, during which time he obtained and lost the posts of Major-domo, Inspector of the Army, Keeper of the Privy Purse, and Privy Secretary (*kātib as-sirr*). The 7th Jumādā II 808 (30th November 1405) appointed *ra's mashwara*<sup>3</sup> with the rank of a Commander of a Thousand. Died the 19th Ramaḍān 808 (10th March 1406).

<sup>1</sup> *Ṣubḥ*, XI, p. 87; *Ḍaw' as-ṣubḥ*, p. 39, l. 2; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 419f. (2nd ed. IV, 279-82); *Nujūm*, especially VI, pp. 91, l. 8 ff., 107, l. 11, 109, l. 1, 115, l. 6, 126, l. 9, 131, l. 2, 166, l. 10, 167, l. 2, 173, l. 8, 175, l. penult., 276 f.; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 18<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>); *Ḍaw'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. Warn. 369 b, fo. 30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 304, l. 6 b, 330 l. ult., 339, ll. 13, 18, 6 b, 347, l. penult., 348, ll. 3, 22, 3 b; Weil, V, 99, 105-7; Herz, l.c.; Wiet, *Les Secrétaires de la Chancellerie en Égypte* (Mélanges René Basset) No. VIII, p. 7 f. (of the offprint) with further lit.; Björkman, *Beiträge*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> His grandfather Ghurāb was the first of his ancestors to profess Islam.

<sup>3</sup> *Ra's mashwara* or *amīr mashwara* is the old title of the *amīr al-majlis*, cf. *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 585, n. 3, and compare *Nujūm*, VI, p. 173, l. 8 with p. 277, l. 1. According to Ibn Iyās, I, 347, l. penult., he was appointed *amīr majlis* in 804.

BLAZON: *Pen-box on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

ZĀWIYAH, Cairo.

A shield near the mihrāb.

Badly damaged inscription on both sides of the doorway.

The essential portion of it:

. . . إبراهيم بن غراب استاذ دار العالية . . . وناظر الجيوش المنصورة والخواص  
الشريفة وما مع ذلك . . .

*Ibrāhīm b. Ghurāb, the Major-domo . . . and Inspector of the victorious Armies and Keeper of the Privy Purse and what goes with it . . .*

DATE: Between 803 and 808 (1400-6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *Zaouyeh Saad el-Dyn ibn Ghorāb à Darb el-Gamamiz, au Caire* (Appendix to *CR*. Exerc. 1911, fasc. 28, p. 126).

### IBRĀHĪM B. 'AQĪL

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on united middle and lower fields crescent.*

COPPER PLATE, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XLII. 3, XLVII. 2.

One shield in the centre of the plate, three others intersecting the inscription.

الجناب العالی المولوی الامیری ○ الکبیری الملکی الصارمی صارم ○ الدین<sup>1</sup>  
إبراهيم ابن عقيل الشهابی عزّ انصاره ○

*His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Royal, Ṣārim ad-dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Aqīl asb-Shihābī, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> This word looks as if it had to be read الدار, but in reality the two *alifs* belong to ابراهيم and the *alif* over the *b* of هبم belongs to ابن.

IBRĀHĪM B. BAKTAMUR AL-ḤUSĀMĪ<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *A three-fielded round shield.*

CANDLESTICK, in the possession of Mr. A. E. Benachi, Athens, in 1880 in the collection Gaston de St. Maurice. Pl. XLV.

Two shields, both of them now disfigured by 8 diagonal lines, probably cut when the object passed into the hands of a new proprietor.

مما عمل برسم الجنا ب العالی ○ المولى الأميرى الكبيرى | المخدمى المالكى  
الجمالى جمال [ ] لدين ابراهيم بن بكتمر الحسامى

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, the Royal, Jamāl ad-dīn Ibrāhīm b. Baktamur al-Ḥusāmī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 29, p. 130, fig. 49 (omitting the last three words and reading the name Tamim).

Reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 14, p. 10.

## IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. YĀSĪN

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a pen-box, on lower field a napkin.*

BRASS LANTERN, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Pl. LVII. 1-4.

The lantern has the shape of an octagonal pyramid, its upper part cut away and replaced by a globular crown. Three lines of inscription: (a) on the base, (b) on the upper portion of the octagon, (c) on the globe. In the middle of each side of the pyramid (except the one with the door) a shield.

(a) مما عمل برسم الجنا ب ا | العالی سیدی ابراهيم | ابن المرحوم سیدی محمد

ابن الواثق بالملك الحق المبين الشيخ | ياسين غفر له وللمسلمين آمين<sup>2</sup>

(b) مما عمل برسم الجنا ب العالی القاضوى | البرهانى سیدی ابراهيم ابن المرحوم

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the blazon of his father, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Text (a) being only an abridged version of (b) is not translated.

سَيِّدِي مُحَمَّدَ ابْنِ الْوَائِقِ بِالْمَلِكِ | الْحَقُّ الْمُبِينُ سَيِّدِي الشَّيْخِ | يَا سَيِّدِي اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لَهُ  
وَلِلْمُسْلِمِينَ | آمِينَ يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), the Qādī Burhān ad-dīn Sīdī Ibrāhīm, son of the late Sīdī Muḥammad, son of the one trusting in the King, the Manifest Truth, Sīdī Shaikh Yāsīn, oh God forgive him and the Muslims, Amen. Oh Lord of the Worlds!*

(c) الْمُقَرَّرُ الْأَشْرَفُ الْكَرِيمُ | الْعَالِي الْمَوْلَى الْإِمَامُ | الْأَمِيرُ الْكَبِيرُ |

*His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, t[he . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ILYĀS B. SĀBIQ

BLAZON: *Emblem No. 24 without shield.*

SHRINE, locally known as Shaikh Ilyās, Gaza.

On the lintel of the entrance door inscription flanked by two blazons. The essential portion of it runs as follows:

. . . أَمْرٌ بِإِنْشَاءِ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَكِ . . . الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى الشَّيْخُ إِلْيَاسُ بْنُ  
سَابِقِ بْنِ خَضِرٍ . . . فِي شَهْرِ صَفَرِ سَنَةِ أَحَدٍ وَسَبْعِينَ وَسِتِّمِئَةً . . .

*. . . Ordered the construction of this blessed mosque . . . the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Shaikh Ilyās, son of Sābiq, son of Khidr . . . in the month of Ṣafar 671 (began the 28th August 1272).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza*, I, pp. 70 ff., pl. 1.

### ISHIQTAMUR AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Ishiqtamur al-Māridīnī, called an-Nāṣirī after al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan, grandson of Qalāūn, by whom he was educated and dubbed amir; was *amīr*

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 414, 426, 432, 435, 436, 448, 450, 453, 463; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br.Mus. Or.

*majlis* in 764, under al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān became Governor of Aleppo, a post he held five different times, viz.: 765 till Rajab 766 (1363 March–April 1365), 771–3 (1369–71–2), 774–5 (1372–3–4), 775–80, 781–2 (10 months). In 776 he successfully besieged Sīs. Twice Governor of Tripoli, replacing first Qushtamur al-Manṣūrī and then Aydamur ad-Dawādār, three times Viceroy of Syria, viz. for four months in 775 (1373–4), from Rabī' I 782 till Muḥarram 784 (June–July 1380–April–March 1382), for four months in 788 (1386). Died in Aleppo either in Shawwāl 791<sup>1</sup> (September–October 1389), or in Jumādā I 789<sup>2</sup> (May–June 1387).

BLAZON: *Cup on the middle field of a three-fielded round shield.*

1. PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Shārī' Hammām al-'Āshiq, Aleppo, locally known as Qaṣṭal Sakākīnī, now fallen into disuse.

Inscription in three lines within a bi-cuspid frame. Four shields in the corners.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ الْأَبْرَارَ يَشْرَبُونَ مِنْ كَأْسٍ كَانَ مِزَاجُهَا كَافُورًا

(2) أَنشَأَ هَذَا السَّبِيلَ الْمُبَارَكَ مَوْلَانَا الْمُقَرَّرَ الْأَشْرَفَ الْعَالِيَّ الْمَوْلَى الْكَافِيَّ

السَّيْفِيَّ اشْتَقْتَمِرَ

(3) الْأَشْرَفِيَّ كَافِلَ الْمَالِكِ الشَّرِيفَةِ الْحَلْبِيَّةِ الْمُحْرُوسَةِ عَزَّ نَصْرُهُ فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ

أَحَدَى وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

*In the name of the most merciful God. The just shall drink of a cup of wine, mixed with the water of Kāfūr (Qur'ān, LXXVI, 5). Founded this blessed fountain our Lord, His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Viceroy, Saif ad-dīn Ishiqtamur al-Ashrafī, Viceroy of the protected and noble provinces of Aleppo, may his victory be glorious. During the months of the year 771 (began 5th August 1369).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

3043, fo. 72<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm* (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 211<sup>v</sup>–212<sup>r</sup>, 213<sup>v</sup>, 221<sup>v</sup>, l. 9), *Manḥal*, s.v. with indication of vowels (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fos. 195<sup>v</sup>–196<sup>v</sup> and s.v. Aydamur al-Ānūkī ad-Dawādār); Ibn Iyās (throughout whose History the name is spelt 'Ishiqtamur عشقتمر, in one instance only does it appear as اشقتمر, and in another as طشفتمرى, the latter variant possibly being only a misprint) I, pp. 213, l. 13 b, ult., 226, l. 13 b, 265, l. 9, 266, ll. 4, 5 b, 3 b; Weil, IV. 488 f., 507, 511, 519, 524, 545; Sobernheim, *Arabische Gefässinschriften von der Ausstellung in Paris*, pp. 200–5; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām*, II. 441 f., 449–53, V. 104–6.

<sup>1</sup> *Manḥal*, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, I, p. 266, l. 5 b.

2. BODY OF A CANDLESTICK, Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim-Stiftung, Berlin. Pl. XXXIII. 1, 2.

Inscription intersected by three shields.

○ المقرّ الأشرف العالی المولوی ○ المالکی المخدمی السیفی اشتتمر النصوری ○

کافل الممالک الشریفة الشّامیة ○

*His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Ishiqtamur al-Manṣūrī, Viceroy of the noble Syrian provinces.*

DATE: The appellation 'al-Manṣūrī', i.e. officer of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, enables us to date this object to within less than a year. The sultans who reigned during Ishiqtamur's three terms of office as Viceroy of Syria were al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān, al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Alī, al-Malik aṣ-Ṣālīḥ Ḥājji, al-Malik aḏ-Zāhir Barqūq. Ishiqtamur could have styled himself both 'al-Manṣūrī' and 'Viceroy of Syria' only from Rabī' I 782, the date of his second appointment to that office, till the 23rd Ṣafar 783, the date of Sultan 'Alī's death or—at the latest—until the end of that month, assuming that at least four days<sup>1</sup> were needed before the news could reach Damascus. The candlestick must, therefore, have been made between the 5th June 1380 and the fourth week of May 1381.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## ISMA'ĪL<sup>2</sup>

Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣālīḥ 'Imād<sup>3</sup> ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn Abu-l-Fidā' Isma'īl b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn acceded to the throne the 22nd Muḥarram 743 (27th June 1342), died the 4th Rabī' II 746 (3rd August 1345), twenty years old.

BLAZON: *Six-petalled rosette on undivided field.*

COPPER COIN (*fil*s), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; British Museum, London; Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> Maqrīzī, *SM*. II a, p. 4, puts on record that in 678 (1279) the amirs Lājīn aṣ-Ṣaghīr and Baybars Jālīq covered the distance Cairo–Damascus in two days and seven hours, a story obviously too good to be true.

<sup>2</sup> Dhahabī, II, p. 193, l. 3 b; Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 26<sup>v</sup>–27<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 377, 383; Ṣālīḥ b. Yahyā, pp. 140, l. 10, 176, l. 4 ff.; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 240, l. 7 ff. (2nd ed. III, p. 390, l. 3 ff.); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 188<sup>v</sup>–189<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, 181 f.; Weil, IV, 452, 459; Cheikho in Ṣālīḥ, p. 146, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Iyās, I, p. 181, l. 13 b, calls him 'Alā' ad-dīn.

*Obv.* In centre: Six-petalled rosette within circle.

Around: سنة ثلاث وأربعين وسبعمئة

*Rev.* In centre: Six-petalled rosette within circle.

Around: السلطان الملك الصالح عماد الدنيا والدين

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, IV, No. 538, p. 164; IX, No. 538 a, p. 351; Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes*, vol. *Égypte et Syrie*, No. 865, p. 352, pl. VII.

### JAMĀL AD-DĪN AL-MUẒAFFARĪ

BLAZON: *Cup on the middle field of a three-felded shield.*

PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Baalbek.

Two shields on the frame of the niche.

The historical portion of the inscription runs as follows:

(1) أمر بتجديد هذه السبيل المبارك (2) العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الأمير  
(3) الكبيرى المخدمى الجمالى المظفرى (4) نائب السلطنة [الشريفة] ببلبك  
المحروسة

(a) وذلك (b) بتاريخ سنة (c) ثمان وأربعين (d) وسبعماية

*Ordered the renewal of this blessed public fountain, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, Jamāl ad-dīn, (officer) of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, Governor of the Noble Sultanate in Baalbek, the protected. This was done in the year 748 (1347).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit*, No. XXII, p. 26 f.

### JĀNBALĀṬ B. YASHBAK<sup>1 2</sup>

S. Jānbalāt, originally a mamluk of Yashbak min Mahdī, given as a present to Qāyṭbāy, made by the latter successively *jamdār*, *ḵbāṣṣakī*, junior *dawādār*,

<sup>1</sup> So called in the only original text at my disposal. In view of the fact that he was a mamluk of Yashbak, Jānbalāt min Yashbak would have been probably more correct.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially II, pp. 303, l. 6 b, 370, 392, l. 12 ff.; Weil, V. 351, 367, 372, 373-80, 387. Tabbākh, *ʿĀlām* III. 107 f.

dubbed amir in 894 (1489), in 896—then Amir of Forty—sent to Constantinople as special envoy, on the 26 Dhu-l-Qa'da 901 (4th August 1496) Amīr Dawādār, promoted by Qāyṭbāy to the rank of an Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, in Rabī' II 903 (began 27th November 1497) appointed Governor of Aleppo, in Rabī' I 904 (began 17th October 1498) appointed Viceroy of Syria (after the death of Kurtbāy), and, after Uzbek's death, Commander-in-Chief, elected Sultan on the 2nd Dhu-l-Ḥijja 905 (29th June 1500), acceded to the throne as al-Malik al-Ashraf, deposed and imprisoned in Alexandria, the 5th Rajab 906 (25th January 1501), executed prior to the 4th Sha'bān (23rd February) of that year.

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

1. COPPER BASIN, in 1880 in collection of E. T. Rogers Bey, present owner unknown. Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالی المولوی السید [ی] الملكی الخدومی  
 الأمیری الکبیری السیفی جان بلاط اشرف الأشرفی أمير دوادار المقام الشریف  
 عز نصره<sup>1</sup>

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Jānbalāṭ al-Ashrafī, Amīr Dawādār of His Majesty, may his victories be glorious.*

DATE: Between Dhu-l-Qa'da 901 and Rabī' II 903.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 13, p. 119, fig. 33.

Mentioned: Van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 76, Herz, *Deux lampes*, p. 183, n.

2. COPPER PLATE tinned over. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London.

Inscription round a central medallion on back of plate. Both shield and inscription almost entirely obliterated.

<sup>1</sup> Not having seen the object I must content myself with indicating by question marks what I think was misread by Rogers.



مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى المولوى السيفى جان بلاط كافل المملكة  
الجبّة الملكى الأشرفى

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord Saif ad-dīn Jānbalāt, Viceroy of the province of Aleppo of al-Malik al-Ashraf.*

DATE: Between Rabī' II 903 and Rabī' I 904.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, *Some Dated Objects*, p. 122.

### JĀNBALĀT<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER PLATE tinned over, present owner unknown.

○ مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالى ○ المولوى المخدومى السيفى ○ جان بلاط  
الملكى الأشرفى

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Jānbalāt, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### JĀNIBAK

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on both middle and lower fields a cup.*

COPPER DISH tinned over. Collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. LXII. 2. Four shields intersecting the inscription, the fifth, engraved in the centre of the dish, is now entirely obliterated.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with the preceding one.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم ○ العالى المولوى المالكى المخدمى ○  
 السيفى جانبك [خايربك] الظاهرى أمير آخور ○ كبير المالكى الأشرفى عزّ  
 نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Jānbak (or: Khāirbak) aḡ-Zābirī, Grand Marshal of al-Malik al-Ashraf, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### JĀNĪBAK<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a cup placed between two napkins, on lower field a fleur-de-lis.

COPPER PLATE tinned over, collection J. W. A. Young, Esq., London. Pl. LVIII. 6, 8.

Inscription on back of plate intersected by heraldic shields. In the centre of the plate an obliterated shield.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم ○ العالى المولوى الأميرى ○ المخدمى  
 السيفى جانبك ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Amir, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Jānibak.*

On the rim the name of the maker is engraved: الملم صدقة ('the master Ṣadaqaḥ'), and once more repeated صدقة (Ṣadaqaḥ).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> In view of the great number of amirs of this name—in the Index to Ibn Iyās 48 Jānībaks and 3 Jānībāys are mentioned—and the total absence of any indications as to the personal status of the holder of this blazon, no attempt is made to identify him.

## JĀNĪBAK

BLAZON: *On upper field two napkins, on middle field a cup charged with two small cups, on lower field a cup.*

COPPER CANDLESTICK, present owner unknown.

المقرّ الأشرف العالی المولوی السیفی جانی بك أمير آخور السیفی تنم المؤیدی

الملکی الظاهری [Sauvaget]

*His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, Saif ad-din Jānībak, Marshal of Saif ad-dīn Tanam al-Mu'ayyadī, (officer) of al-Malik az-Zāhir.*

DATE: Even though, despite his high rank, Jānībak cannot be identified with any of his better-known namesakes, the candlestick can be dated within a few years. Of the three persons called Tanam al-Mu'ayyadī, viz. (a) the cupbearer, under Barsbāy, an Amir of a Hundred in Damascus, who died in 837,<sup>1</sup> (b) Tanam al-'Alā'ī al-Mu'ayyadī, the dawādār, a partisan of Aynāl al-Jakamī during his rebellion against Jaqmaq, executed in 842,<sup>2</sup> (c) Tanam min 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Mu'ayyadī,<sup>3</sup> Chief of the Police (*muhtasib*) under Jaqmaq, Inspector of the Haram at Mecca, later Governor of Alexandria, in 851 Governor of Hama, 851-2 Governor of Aleppo, the 13th Šafar 853 appointed *amīr majlis*, in 857 under al-Malik al-Manšūr 'Uthmān *amīr silāḥ*, in 865 appointed Viceroy of Syria, died there in 868, only the last mentioned should be taken into consideration. In all probability the candlestick was made either between 851 and 852, or between 865 and 868.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

JĀNĪBAK<sup>4</sup>

S. Jānībak b. 'Abdallāh, originally a mamluk of Asanbughā aṭ-Ṭayyārī, acquired by Jaqmaq, on the latter's accession to the throne, made a page

<sup>1</sup> *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 163<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> *Manhal*, s.v. (l.c. fo. 163<sup>v</sup>-164<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *Manhal*, s.v. (l.c. fo. 164<sup>r</sup>, <sup>v</sup>); *Nuṣūṣ*, VII. 788 ff.; Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 40, l. 7, 73, l. 3 f., 83, l. 20; Weil, V. 295; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 538 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 182<sup>v</sup>-184<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially II, pp. 37, l. 13, 40, l. 14, 44, l. 9, 53, l. 10, 225, l. 7; Weil, V. 250, 260, 285-7, 298 f. This Jānībak should be distinguished from his namesake who in Rabi' II 880 (began 4th August 1475) was Governor of Bireh (Ibn Iyās, II, p. 159, l. 6), in 882 Governor of Jidda (Quṭb ad-dīn, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, III. 226, quoted by van Berchem, *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 421, n. 4).

(*ḵbāṣṣakī*), dubbed amir, in charge of the harbour of Jidda from 849 (1445/6) to 855 (1451), and again from 856 (began 23rd January 1452) till Jaqmaq made his son 'Uthmān his successor. Appointed Major-domo by 'Uthmān b. Jaqmaq, held this office until Aynāl made him an Amir of Forty and once more Governor of Jidda. In 863 (began 8th November 1458) promoted to the rank of a Commander of a Thousand. On Khushqadam's accession to the throne appointed Grand Dawādār. Killed in Dhu-l-Hijja 867<sup>1</sup> (began 17th August 1463).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup crossed by a sword, on lower field a cup.*

#### 1. MAUSOLEUM of Jānībak, Cairo.

There are two inscriptions to right and left of both the east and north entrance with Jānībak's name and titles, and a badly damaged inscription in the interior of the mausoleum with heraldic shields. The essential portion of the latter text runs as follows:

. . . الأمير الكبير . . . بالديار المصرية و[نا]ب [السلطنة] الشريفة . . .  
شهر رجب الفرد من سنة تسعة وستين وثمانمائة . . .

... the Great Amir ... [Grand Dawādār?] in the province of Egypt and Viceroy ... during the month of Rajab the Unique, of the year 869<sup>2</sup> (March 1465). . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 412, and fig.

Reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 10, fig. 9.

Mentioned: *CR.*, Exerc. 1892, fasc. 9 (2nd ed.), p. 69.

#### 2. LINTEL from Jānībak's Mosque, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3788. One shield, almost obliterated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### JAQMAQ<sup>3</sup>

S. Jaqmaq, a freed mamluk of Arghūnshāh, after whose death on the 14th Sha'bān 802 (10th April 1400) he passed into the service of Shaikh al-Maḥ-

<sup>1</sup> According to Weil, V. 298, on the 1st Dhu-l-Hijja 867; according to *Dau'*, s.v. J. at-Ṭayyārī az-Zāhirī, Director of Customs at Jidda, died in 868.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to this date, cf. Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Nujūm*, VI, especially pp. 316, l. 18, 318, l. 19, 324, l. 11, 342, l. 12, 356, l. 6, 406, l. 10, 486, l. 11

mūdī who made him first Chief of the Corps of Jamdārs, then Junior Dawādār. The 9th Rabī' II 815 (19th July 1412) appointed dawādār to the Caliph; after Shaikh's accession Jaqmaq was dubbed amir, served in Syria, became Amir of Forty in Cairo and Second Dawādār, on the 25th Dhu-l-Hijja 818 (25th February 1416) succeeded Āqbāy al-Mu'ayyadī as Grand Dawādār, the 3rd Shawwāl 822 (23rd October 1419) appointed Viceroy of Syria. After the death of Sultan Shaikh refused to obey Ṭaṭar; defeated and executed the 26th Sha'bān 824 (26th August 1421). Buried in his madrasa in Damascus.

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a cup charged with two small cups, on lower field a cup.*

MADRASA, Damascus, near the North Gate of the Main Mosque. The historical portion of the inscription runs as follows:

... أنشأ هذه الخانقاة والتربة المباركتين المقرّ الأشرف العالي المولوى الأميرى  
الكبرى العالمى العادلى المهمدى العابدى الحاشى الناسكى الزعيمى المقدّمى الذخرى  
الظهيرى السيفى عزّ الإسلام والمسلمين سيّد الأمراء فى العالمين سيف أمير المؤمنين جقمق  
الدوادار المؤيدى كا[فل المما]لك الشامية المحروسة ضاعف الله له الثواب وغفر له  
ولوالديه ولأحبابه يوم الحساب بمباشرة الجناب السيفى تغرى ورمش فى شهور سنة  
أربع وعشرين وثمان مائة

*Constructed this blessed monastery and mausoleum His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Learned, the Just, the Administrator, the Worshipper, the Chieftain, the Commander, the Treasure, the Protector, Saif ad-dīn, the Glory of the Islam and the Muslims, the Lord of Amirs in the Worlds, the Sword of the Caliph, Jaqmaq, the Dawādār, al-Mu'ayyadī, Viceroy of the protected Syrian provinces, may God double his reward and forgive him and his parents and his friends on the day of the settling, under the direction of His Excellency (janāb), Saif ad-dīn Taghrīwirmish during the months of the year 824 (1421).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Inscription partly copied: *CIA Égypte*, I, p. 449, n. 3.

Mentioned and reproduced: Wulzinger und Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 63, No. 11, pl. 22a.

492, l. 14, 503, l. 17, 551-3, 829, l. 3; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 189<sup>v</sup>-190<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 11, l. 10, 13, l. 17, 16, l. 8; Weil, V. 127, 158, 160.

JAUHAR AL-MU'INĪ<sup>1</sup>

Z. Jauhar the Abyssinian, called al-Mu'inī after Mu'in ad-dīn ad-Dimyātī, passed into the service of Birdibak al-Ashrafī, under Qāyrbāy became cup-bearer, in 902 (1497) succeeded Fīrūz ar-Rūmī as Warden of the Princesses (*ẓimām*), died either in 905 or 906. In Jumādā II 906 (began 23rd December 1500) replaced by 'Abd al-Laṭīf, the eunuch.

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

EWER, Musée de la Ville, Lyon.

One shield.

Inscription on spout:

المقرّ الزينى جواهر المعينى

*His Excellency Zain ad-dīn Jauhar al-Mu'inī.*

Inscription on body:

المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالى المولى الأميرى الكبيرى | المخدمى المحترمى

[one word] الزينى جواهر المعينى أمير رأس نوبة الآدر الشريفة دام عزه

*His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, the Honoured . . . Zain ad-dīn Jauhar al-Mu'inī, the Warden of the Noble Princesses, may his glory last for ever.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

JURJĪ AN-NĀṢIRĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Jurjī, originally a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, Junior Dawādār under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, in Jumādā II 748 (began the 8th September 1347) appointed Grand Dawādār by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī. After Ḥājjī's death, in Ramaḍān of the same year, was sent to Damascus as Amir of Ten, returned

<sup>1</sup> *Dau'*, s.v., Ibn Iyās, II, p. 318, l. 7, 352, l. 15, 362, l. 15, 381-2.

<sup>2</sup> Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23357, fo. 125<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 416, 417, 429; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 101<sup>v</sup>); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 188<sup>r</sup> and <sup>v</sup>).

to Cairo as Amir of Forty, became Second Chamberlain, under Ḥasan appointed Treasurer, under al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān Grand Marshal; in 766 made Governor of Aleppo, remained in office for about two years, transferred to Damascus as Commander-in-Chief, died there Ṣafar 772 (began 25th August 1370).

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields red, a red pen-box on a white middle field.*

GLASS FLAGON, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 223—'79. Inscription on body:

المقرّ الكريم العالی | لمولوی المالکی الخدومی | السیفی جرجی أستاذار |  
 العالیة بالأبواب الشریفة | المملکی الناصری أعزّ أنصاره و | ضاعف اقتداره

*His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Jurjī, Major-domo of the Noble Porte, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may (God) make his victories glorious and double his power.*

DATE: Between 748 (al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan's first accession to the throne) and 762 (the year of Jurjī's death).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmoranz, pp. 25, 59, 68, fig. 56, pl. XXV; Artin, *Contribution*, No. 104, p. 124 f.; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 162, No. 41.

Mentioned: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 762; Herz, *Deux lampes*, p. 184, n.; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II. 130; Lamm, p. 406 f.

## KĀFŪR<sup>1</sup>

Shibl ad-daula Kāfūr aṣ-Ṣafawī, originally a eunuch of al-Malik al-'Ādil (most likely Abū Bakr II), served as *kbāẓindār* in the fortress of Damascus under Baybars, Baraka Khān, and Qalāūn, for some time also as Governor of the fortress of Damascus. Died there in 684 (began 9th March 1285).

BLAZON: *White six-petalled rosette on undivided red shield.*

GLASS LAMP, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 6820—1860.

Inscription on neck (1), intersected by three shields, continued on the body (2). Three further shields on the lower part of the body.

<sup>1</sup> *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 37<sup>v</sup>).

(1) مَمَّا عَمِلَ بِرِسْمِ الْجَنَابِ | الْعَالِي | المولوى الشبلى |

(2) كافور الرومى الخزاندار الملكى | | الصالحى أعز أنصاره |

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, Shibl ad-daula Kāfūr ar-Rūmī, the khāzindār, (officer) of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, may (God) make his victories glorious.*

There is some difficulty in the attribution of this lamp. Of the three Kāfūrs, whose biographies are given in the *Manḥal*, two bear the honorific surname Shibl ad-daula, and one, K. aṣ-Ṣafawī, is mentioned as having served in the capacity of *khāzindār*. On the other hand, on the lamp K. is called aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, which would seem to fit better K. al-Hindī, who, having died in 786 (24th February 1384–11th February 1385) could have easily served either aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismaʿil or aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ or even aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī, whereas the nearest Ṣāliḥ with whom K. aṣ-Ṣafawī could have been connected is Najm ad-dīn Ayyūb. Seeing, however, that K. al-Hindī is not known to have been a *khāzindār* and that he was not of Anatolian origin, he need not be taken into consideration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nesbitt, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Glass Vessels in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 35 f.; Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 255; van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 81 ff.

Mentioned and reproduced: Schmoranz, fig. 46; Artin, *Contribution*, No. 300, p. 172; Lamm, p. 443, pl. 200, fig. 2.

Mentioned: Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II. 134; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 164, No. 51.

### KHĀIRBAK B. BILBĀY<sup>1</sup>

S. Khāirbak b. Bilbāy, a mamluk of Qāyṭbāy, became his *jamdār*, subsequently a page, and eventually Junior Dawādār; in 901, under Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy dubbed Amir of Ten, some time later, under his reign, promoted to the rank of an Amir of Forty, under Jānbalāt became Amir of a Hundred. In 906, after Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī's accession, became Grand Chamberlain, in 910 appointed Governor of Aleppo, remained in office till the Ottoman conquest, on the 11th (or 13th) Shaʿbān 923 (29th or 31st August 1517) became Governor of Egypt. Died the 14th Dhu-l-Qaʿda 928 (5th October 1522).

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, especially III, pp. 3, l. 17, 62, l. 2, 131, ll. 2, 5 b, 314, l. 18–316, l. 11. In the Index many passages refer to Khāirbak, the 'Sultan of one night', and several others; Ibn Ṭūlūn, esp. 60 [rō], l. 4 b, 46 [rī], l. 8 b, 36 [rī], l. 9; Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, II. 473, 507, III. 34; Weil, V. 412, n. 1, 436; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 355; CIA. *Égypte*, I. 567 f., 602, n. 2; van Berchem, *Inscripfen Oppenheim*, p. 53; Ṭabbākh, *Alʿām*, III. 113–115, V. 429–34.



BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

1. MAUSOLEUM, near Bāb al-Maqām, Aleppo, locally known as 'Shaikh 'Alī Shātīlā'.

Inscription along the façade of the building, intersected by shields. A few shields on the north and west walls.

بسمه . . . أنشأ هذه التربة المباركة المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالی المولوی الکافی  
السيفی خایربک الأشرفی کافل المملکة الحلبیة المحروسة أعزّ الله تعالى أنصاره  
بتأریخ شهر ربیع الأول عام عشرين وتسعمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. Constructed this blessed mausoleum His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Viceroy Saif ad-dīn Khāirbak al-Ashrafī, Viceroy of the protected province of Aleppo, may God the Exalted make his victories glorious; on the date of Rabī' I of the year 920 (began 26th April 1514).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Van Berchem, *Inscripfen Oppenheim*, p. 53, No. 61, fig. 8; Bischoff, *Tuhaf al-anbā'*, p. 149; Tabbākh, l.c., V. 434.

Mentioned and reproduced: Herzfeld in Djemal Pasha, *Alte Denkmäler*, pl. 46 b.; Devonshire, *Cairo Mosques*, p. 110, pl.; Glück-Diez, *Kunst d. Islam*, p. 189.

2. CARAVANSERAI, Aleppo, locally known as 'Khān Khāirbak'.

Inscriptions divided into two halves one on each leaf of the iron door of the khan. Two painted shields on the door, thirteen others in the courtyard. The date of the painting is doubtful.

(1) ممّا عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالی خایربک الأشرفی (2) کافل  
المملکة الحلبیة المحروسة أعزّ الله أنصاره فی ربیع الأول سنة عشرين وتسعمائة

*This was made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency Khāirbak al-Ashrafī, Viceroy of the protected province of Aleppo, may God make his victories glorious; in Rabī' I 920 (began 26th April 1514).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

KHĀIRBAK<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH tinned over. Collection J. W. A. Young, Esq., London. Inscription intersected by three shields.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الكريم (ال)عالي (الى) ○ المولوى السيفى خيربك عين  
مقدمين ○ الألف بالديار المصرية عز نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Honourable and High Excellency Saif ad-dīn Khāirbak, Commander designate of a Thousand in the province of Egypt, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Mayer, *Guide to the Exhibition of Moslem Heraldry*, p. 5.

KHĀIRBAK<sup>3</sup> MIN<sup>4</sup> AYNĀL<sup>5</sup>

S. Khāirbak min Aynāl, originally a mamluk of Aynāl al-Ashqar, served at the head of the army (*bāsh al-'askar*), appointed District Officer of the Gharbiyya province not later than 902 (1496/7), dismissed in Rabī' II 905 (began 5th November 1499), lived in exile, after Jānbalāt's accession to the throne returned to Cairo, promoted to the rank of Commander of a Thousand, leader of a successful expedition to the Ḥijāz against the Banū Ibrāhīm tribe. Died Thursday, 2nd Šafar 922 (7th March 1516).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a small cup. The napkin, the cup on the middle field, the 'trousers', and the lower field are ornamented.*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with the preceding one.

<sup>2</sup> The *alif* of المصرية is out of place and looks more like a *lām*.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling of this name varies, both forms, with and without the *alif*, being used, e.g. Ibn Iyās, II, p. 380, l. 6 b.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes called '*ibn Aynāl*', a mistake easily explicable by the similarity of بن and من in Arabic. That *min* is the proper word is proved by the statement of Ibn Iyās that he was the *mamluk* of Aynāl (and not his son), cf. the texts mentioned in the following note.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 324, l. 1, 336, l. 4 b, 362, ll. 10 b ff., 375, ll. 12 b ff., 380, l. 6 b, 384, l. 9 b (mentioned among Amirs of Twenty), III, p. 3, l. 11, 10-11; Weil, V. 391, n. 3. The references to this amir are scattered in the index to Ibn Iyās over Kh. as-Saifī Aynāl, Kh. al-kāshif, and Kh. kāshif al-Gharbiyya.

COPPER BASIN, in possession of M. Henri Léman, 37 Rue Lafitte, Paris.

Shields on the outside and inside of the basin.

Inscription:

(1) مِمَّا عَمِلَ بِرَسْمِ الْجَنَابِ الْعَالِيِ الْمَوْلَى الْأَمِيرِ الْكَبِيرِ

(2) السَّيْفِي خَايْرَبَكْ مِنْ أَيْنَالِ مَلِكِ الْأُمَرَاءِ بِالْغَرْبِيَّةِ

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Khārbak min Aynāl, Governor-General of the Gharbiyya province.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## KHĀLID

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on the yellow united middle and lower fields a dark brown cup. Pointed shield.*

POTSHERD excavated at Fustāt, now in the National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 5109. Pl. VI. 11.

Inscription intersected by one shield.

مِمَّا عَمِلَ [ . . . ] الْمَخْدُومِ الشَّمْسِيِّ شَمْسِ الدِّينِ خَالِدِ ○

*This is one of the objects made for . . . the Well-Served, Shams ad-dīn Khālid.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## KHALĪL<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *Emblem No. 26 displayed on a round shield (or on a table?) placed on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

QUR'ĀN PULPIT of the Main Mosque, Qūṣ. Pl. XLIII. 1.

Inscription intersected by three shields.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with one of the two Khalīls whose letters of appointment to the offices of an Inspector of the Southern District of Syria and of a *mihmandār* respectively, are reproduced in Qalqa-shandī, *Ṣubḥ*, XII. 296 f., 313 ff.

(A)—Qur. II. 256—○ القيوم ○—(B) السموات—حف(C)ظهما—العظيم ○ صدق الله

العظيم (D) أمر بإنشاء هذا المصحف المبارك المقرّ الكريم العالى المولوى الأميرى  
الأجلّى ○ العردى عرر<sup>1</sup> الدين خليل الملكى الناصرى أعزّ الله أنصاره بمحمّد

واله [Wiet]

... Ordered the construction of this blessed reading-desk His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Most Magnificent Amir, Ghars(?) ad-dīn Khalīl, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may God make his victories glorious ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### KHUDĀBIRDĪ AL-ASHRAFĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Khudābirdī, appointed Governor of Alexandria before 922 (began 5th February 1516), in 922 promoted to the rank of a Commander of a Thousand and in Ramaḍān of the same year replaced by Tanam as-Saifī Mughulbāy. Killed in battle near Baisan the 24th Dhu-l-Qa'da 922 (17th December 1516).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER PLATE tinned over, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4456, originally in the collection of J. Home, Esq., Cairo.

Inscription round the shield in the centre of the plate.

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالى المولوى الأميرى السيفى خدابردى عزّ أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir, Saif ad-dīn Khudābirdī, may his victories be glorious.*

On the back of the plate there is another inscription, very clumsily engraved several years later, when Khudābirdī was much more advanced in his career:

برسم المقرّ الأشرف | السيفى خدابردى | الأشرفى كافل الشجر السكندرى | أعزّ

الله أنصاره

<sup>1</sup> عرر dūt-il être lu غرز pour غرس [Wiet].

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, III. pp. 3, l. 14, 26, l. 11, 73, l. 11, 75, l. 8, 80, l. 11.

*For His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Khudābirdī al-Asbrafi, Viceroy of the March of Alexandria, may God make his victories glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CR.* 1915-19, fasc. 32, p. 499 f.

### KHUDĀBIRDĪ AZ-ZĀHIRĪ<sup>1</sup>

Khudābirdī az-Zāhirī died after Muḥarram 954.

BLAZON: *Cup on undivided shield.*

CENOTAPH, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3568. Pl. XXV.

The historical portion of the inscription:

(1) مِمَّا عمل برسم الأمير خضابردى 'الظاهرى' (2) [مع] ار درب الحاج الأمير  
 خضابردى 'الظاهرى' [3-4 words] (3) الأمير خضابردى 'الظاهرى' (4) مِمَّا عمل  
 برسم الأمير خضابردى 'الظاهرى' المعمار بدرب الحجاز غفر الله له وللمسلمين [Wiet]

*This is one of the objects made for the Amir Khudābirdī az-Zāhirī, builder of the Pilgrims' Road, Amir Khudābirdī az-Zāhirī... This is one of the objects made for the Amir Khudābirdī az-Zāhirī, builder of the Hijāz Road, may God forgive him and the Muslims.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Described: *CR.* Exerc. 1908, p. 103.

### KHUSHKILDĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER PLATE tinned over, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 5694.

Inscription in the centre of the plate illegible.

Inscription on the borders intersected by four shields.

<sup>1</sup> *CR.* Exerc. 1913, p. 130 f.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف ○ العالى المولوى الأميرى ○ الكبيرى السيفى  
خشكلى ○ خازندار الأشرفى ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Khushkildī, the Treasurer of (al-Malik) al-Asraf.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### KHUSHQADAM<sup>1</sup>

Z. Khushqadam, the eunuch, called al-Aḥmadī after the merchant of slaves who sold him, in 873 (1468/9) became Chief of the Corps of Cup-bearers (*ra's naubat as-suqāt*), in 879 (1474) replaced Yashbak, the Dawādār, as vizier, in Rabī' I 882 (began 13th June 1477) appointed Great Treasurer (*khāzindār*) and Warden (*ẓimām*) of the Princesses, in 884 (1479/80) leader of the pilgrims' caravan to Mecca, in Rabī' II 889 (began 28th April 1484) dismissed from the vizierate, in Ramaḍān 891 (September 1486) exiled to Qūṣ, in Muḥarram 894 (began 5th December 1488) exiled to Suwākin, died there in Shawwāl 894 (began 28th August 1489).

BLAZON: *On red upper field a white napkin, on white middle field a black cup placed between a red 'pair of trousers' with white openings, on black lower field a white cup.*<sup>2</sup>

1. LUNCH-BOX (*maṭbaqiyya*), Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 1242—'88. Pl. LXVIII. 9, 10.

Inscription on lid, repeated on body.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى | المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى الزينى |  
خشقدم صاحب زمام الآدر الشريفة | وأمير خازندار<sup>3</sup> وما مع ذلك الملكى . . .

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 108, l. ult, 152, l. 5 b, 172, l. 16, 190-1, 193, l. penult., 194, l. 15, 207, l. 13, 215, ll. 11, 17, 222, l. 5, 223, l. 16, 233, l. 6, 238, ll. 5, 12, 256, l. 2, 261, l. 12; Weil, V. 356 (the one mentioned V. 219, n. 1, is not identical with Khushqadam al-Aḥmadī); Herz, *Mosquée Khoshqadam el-Ahmedi, à Darb el-Hosr, au Caire* (in CR. 1909, p. 163 f.).

<sup>2</sup> The colours are given according to Herz, l.c., p. 162, n. 2. Artin's drawing, *Contribution*, No. 85, is slightly different, the napkin, the openings of the 'trousers', and the cup on the lower field being golden.

<sup>3</sup> This word is spelt in the inscription on the body: خازندام by mistake of the engraver.

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Zain ad-dīn Khushqadam, the Vizier, Warden of the Noble Princesses, and Amīr Treasurer and what is implied by it, (officer) of al-Malik . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. MADRASA,<sup>1</sup> Cairo. Pl. LXI. 1.

On the ceiling of a corridor several painted shields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon described: Herz, l.c., p. 162.

Reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, p. 118 f., No. 85.

## KITBUGHĀ<sup>2</sup>

Z. Kitbughā b. 'Abdallāh al-Manṣūrī, made prisoner in the first battle of Hims in 659 A.H.,<sup>3</sup> taken by Sultan Qalāūn, who freed and educated him and under whom he became one of the highest amirs. Despite a relatively short time spent in prison, his position remained unchanged under the reign of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl and the first reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, whose Viceroy he was. Elevated to the throne on the 11th Muḥarram 694,<sup>4</sup> he assumed the title of al-Malik al-'Ādil. After his deposition in 696 by Lājīn fled to the fortress of Damascus where for a while he remained a prisoner. Later in the year appointed Governor of Ṣarkhad, where he remained until Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's second accession to the throne. Made Governor of Hama by the latter, a position Kitbughā held till his death on the 10th Dhu-l-Ḥijja 702 (26th July 1303). Buried in his mausoleum in Damascus, on the slope of Jabal Qāsyūn, to the west of the Ribāṭ an-Nāṣirī.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of this building and the attribution of its various portions to their respective builders cf. Herz, l.c., and Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 111 f.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beitrage*, cf. Index, especially pp. 26, l. 4, 29, l. 9, 31, ll. 9, 10, 33, l. 7, 40-3, 45, l. 15, 81, l. ult., 96, l. 17, 108, l. 11, 130, l. 15, 131, l. 18, 133, l. 20, 223, l. 17; Dhahabī (ed. Hyderabad), II, pp. 151, l. 5 b, 152, l. 7 b, 154-5, 162-3; Ibn al-Wardī, II, especially pp. 238-9, 242, l. 4 ff., 251-2; Mufaddal, pp. 370, 374, 412, 421-3, 432, 439, 445, 507; Kutubī, s.v., II, 138; *Jawābir as-sulūk* (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 6854, fo. 210), *SM*, II 2, 12, 27, 113, 121, II b, 21-39, 43 f., 169, 220, 226; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 239, ll. 15 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 41<sup>r</sup>, v); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 38<sup>v</sup> ff.), and s.v. Salār (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 94<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, especially I, pp. 115, l. 1, 129, l. 9 b, 133, 135, l. 12 b ff., 136, l. 1, 174, l. 5 b; Mujīr ad-dīn, p. 436-437; Weil, especially IV, 175, 191, 197, 202, 203, 206, 236; Blochet in Mufaddal, l.c., p. 53 f.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar, l.c., in 658.

<sup>4</sup> According to Manhal, l.c.: on the 11th or 9th, Mujīr ad-dīn: on the 9th.

BLAZON: (a) *Cup on undivided shield,*

(b) *Cup on lower part of a two-fielded U-shaped shield.*

1. COPPER COIN (*fil*s), Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Pl. XX. 2, 4.

*Obv.* Within double circle, plain and dotted:

السلطان  
ن الملك ا  
لعادل

*Rev.* Chalice within double circle, plain and dotted.

(a) 2.241 gr., maximum width 18 mm.


(b) 1.713 gr., maximum width 17 mm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced in William Marsden, 'The Oriental Coins, ancient and modern, of his collection, described and historically illustrated' (in *Numismata Orientalia*, Part 1), London, 1823, No. 301, p. 291 f., pl. XVII. Marsden could neither read the title of the sultan (*al-'ādil*) nor classify the coin.

2. ILLUSTRATION in adh-Dhahabī, *al-Muntaqā min ta'rīkh al-islām*, VII, manuscript in the library of Ahmed Zeki Pasha, Cairo.

S.a. 694:

... وكان رنكه في أيام إمرته هكذا  وفي أيام ملكه الرايات الصفرة . . .

'While amir he (i.e. Kitbughā) carried this coat of arms (fig.), while king yellow banners.' The fact that some of his coins displayed the cup clearly shows that the passage quoted should not be understood as if Kitbughā's sultanian banner were plain yellow cloth. Adh-Dhahabī wanted to specify the colour which was obviously different from that which Kitbughā used on his amirial banners, but he could not have meant that the emblem was suppressed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ahmed Zeki Pasha, *Les Couleurs Nationales de l'Égypte Musulmane*, Cairo, 1921, p. 26.

Mentioned: Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza*, I. 72.



KUJKUN<sup>1, 2</sup>

S. Kujkun b. 'Abdallāh al-Manṣūrī, made Amir of Ten in Damascus by Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, probably during the period of his first reign,<sup>3</sup> proclaimed in Damascus Lājīn's accession to the throne, died in 739 (1338/9) nearly ninety years old.

BLAZON: *Three-fielded shield.*

MAUSOLEUM, Damascus, 55 Shāri' as-Sikkeh, Waqf No. 162. Pl. XLIV. 1.  
Inscription on façade, flanked by two shields.

(I) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . هَذَا مَا أَنشَأَ وَأَوْقَفَهُ وَحَبَسَهُ عَلَى التَّرْبَةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ الْمُقَرَّ الْعَالِي  
المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى (2) المخدمى السيفى كجكن بن عبد الله الملكى  
الناصرى أعزّه الله جميع ما يذكر وهو جميع الكرم ببلد المعروف بجينية المسكى  
قديمًا وجميع القيسارية جوار الدار المباركة (3) بدمشق ومن غربها جميع الحديقة  
جوار الدار المذكورة ومن شرقها شمالى المدرسة الريحانية وجميع الحصة وهى سبع  
قاريط بحارة قصر حجاج وقفًا بدار وذلك فى سنة اثنتى وعشرين وسبعمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. This was founded and constituted as a waqf for the mausoleum by His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Kujkun b. 'Abdallāh, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may God give him strength, all that is mentioned (herewith), namely, the whole of the vineyard in the village, formerly known as Junainat al-Musakī, and the whole of the bazaar-street in the vicinity of the blessed house<sup>4</sup> in Damascus, to the west of it the whole of the fruit-garden in the vicinity of the aforementioned house and to the*

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beitrage*, pp. 42, l. 19, 47, ll. 17, 18, 48, l. 15, 49, l. 9, 110, l. 12; Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, II (Hyderabad, 1337 A.H.), p. 190, l. 4; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 42<sup>r</sup>); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 41<sup>r</sup>), and s.v. Kitbughā (ib., fo. 39<sup>v</sup>, l. 13); Birzālī, *al-Muntakhab*, s.a. 696 (MS. Berlin, fo. 463<sup>r</sup>); Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, II, p. 139, l. 6 (biography of Kitbughā) where كجكن is a misprint for كجكن; SM. II. b, 45; Weil, IV. 206, 211, 221.

<sup>2</sup> So spelt by Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v., and explained as يوم صعب 'a difficult day'.

<sup>3</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beitrage*, p. 42, l. 19, he is mentioned as one of the amirs of Damascus in a passage relating Lājīn's accession to the throne, 696 A.H.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps a reference to Kujkun's private house.

east of it the north side of the Madrasa Rīḥāniyya and the whole of a share consisting of seven parts (out of twenty-four) in the quarter *Qaṣr Ḥajjājī*. . . . In the year 722 (1322).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### KUMUSHBUGHĀ<sup>1</sup>

S. Kumushbughā al-Ḥamawī, originally a mamluk of Abu-l-Fidā'’s son, who presented him to Sultan Ḥasan. On the death of the latter he passed into the service of Yalbughā al-'Umārī, at whose death, the 10th Rabī' II 768 (14th December 1366), he was Chief of a Corps of Mamluks (*ra's nauba*). Served under Asandamur, following whose defeat he was imprisoned; on his release, passed into the service of Ṭashtamur ad-Dawādār. After al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān's death made Amir of Ten in Aleppo, thence transferred to Damascus as Commander of a Thousand; succeeded Arghūn al-Is'ardī as Governor of Hama, in Rajab 780 (began 24th October 1378) appointed Viceroy of Syria, arrested in 782 (began 7th April 1380), some time later released and the same year appointed Governor of Safad, after six months transferred to Tripoli,<sup>2</sup> then to Damascus as Commander (*atābak*), twenty days later arrested, imprisoned for four months and finally exiled to Baalbek. Spent about a year in Safad as Governor, transferred to Tripoli for a second time, and remained there for about four and a half years; recalled to Damascus and confined to prison for ten months and ten days. In 791 (1389) appointed Governor of Aleppo, fought Minṭāsh, on his return to Aleppo fortified it, later appointed Commander-in-Chief in Cairo, on the 29th Muḥarram 800 (22nd October 1397) arrested and imprisoned in Alexandria, where he died the 28th<sup>3</sup> Ramaḍān 801 (3rd June 1399).

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on both the middle and lower field a cup.*

CITY GATE, Aleppo, called Bāb Anṭākiya.

Above the entrance gate, underneath the arch.

Inscription flanked by two shields. The essential portion runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, cod. 1366 a, fo. 18<sup>r</sup> and v); *Nujūm* (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 222<sup>r</sup>, l. 6); *Nujūm*, VI, p. 137, l. 1, 140, l. 18–141, l. 8, 143, l. 20; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 46<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>r</sup>); *Ḍan'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, 369 a, Warn., p. 400); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially I, pp. 276, l. 11, 281, l. 10, 282, l. 16, 287, l. 17, 292, l. 11 b ff., 294, l. 7, 295, l. 5, 308, l. 4; Weil, IV. 564 f., V. 4, 8; Ṭabbākh, *A'lām* II. 466–71.

<sup>2</sup> He was Governor of Tripoli in 783; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Nujūm*, VI, p. 140, l. 20: on the 20th Ramaḍān.

(3) . . . جدد هذا الباب المبارك في أيام مولانا السلطان (4) الملك الظاهر

أبى سعيد برقوق خاد الله ملكه بنظر مولانا المقر الأشرف السيفى كمشبغا الظاهرى

كافل المملكة (5) الحلبية المحروسة وتولى عمارته أقل عباد الله تعالى [2-3 words]

قاضى المسلمين بطلب (6) بإشارة الجنب العالى الشهابى أحمد بن سلا ر وذلك فى

شهر رمضان المعظم سنة اثنين وتسعين وسبعمائه

. . . *This blessed gate was renewed in the days of our Lord the Sultan al-Malik aẓ-Zāhir Abū Sa'īd Barqūq, may God make his reign eternal, under the supervision of our Lord, His Most Noble Excellency, Kumushbughā aẓ-Zāhirī, Viceroy of the protected province of Aleppo. The work was carried out by the poorest of God's servants . . . qādī of the Muslims at Aleppo, under the supervision of His High Excellency (janāb), Shibāb ad-dīn Aḥmad b. Salār. This (was done) in the month Ramaḍān, the August, of the year 792 (began 13th August 1390).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Van Berchem, *Inscripfen Oppenheim*, p. 41 f., and figs. 4, 5.

## KUNJAK AL-KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRIZMĪ

BLAZON: *Sword on undivided shield.*

LINTEL STONE, cemetery on the Ṣaḥḥ, Damascus. Pl. XLIX. 2.

Right-hand portion of the inscription broken off, shield to the left.

. . . بعمارة المقر المرحوم ا . . . كنجك الخوارزمى . . . فى أيام . . . الله تعالى

أحمد بن على . . . شهور سنة خمس وستين وسبعمائة [Van Berchem]

[Ordered?] *to build it His late Excellency, Saif ad-dīn(?) Kunjak al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārizmī . . . in the days of . . . [the servant yearning for?] God the Exalted, Aḥmad b. 'Alī . . . [during] the months of the year 765 (1363/4).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

LĀJĪN<sup>1</sup>

Ḥusām ad-dīn Lājīn b. 'Abdallāh al-Manṣūrī, called *aṣ-ṣaghīr* (i.e. the small one), originally a mamluk of al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. Aybak, then mamluk of Qalāūn, held a number of small offices such as page, *ūshāqī*, and armour-bearer, *silāḥdār*. After Qalāūn's accession he was dubbed amir and appointed Governor of the Fortress of Damascus, and the 11th Rabī' I 679 (11th July 1280) Viceroy of Syria. After a term of eleven years he was imprisoned by Khalīl b. Qalāūn in 690 (1291). On 10th Muḥarram 694 (30th November 1294) appointed Viceroy by Kitbughā, a position he held till he ascended the throne as 'al-Malik al-Manṣūr' on the 28th Muḥarram 696 (26th November 1296). Died Thursday, 10th Rabī' II 698 (15th January 1299).

BLAZON: *Three-felded round shield.*

1. COPPER COIN (*filṣ*), Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.

*Obv.* Within dotted circle,

[السلطان]  
[ن ا] الملك  
[المنصور]

*Rev.* In centre, blazon.

Around, within dotted circle

حسام [الدنيا والدين]<sup>2</sup> لاجين

1.6 gr. Clipped. Maximum width 17.5 mm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Mayer, *Guide to the Exhibition of Moslem Heraldry in Palestine*, p. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, V. 52, 100, 120, 130-2, 150-4; ed. Constantinople, IV, pp. 14, ll. 8, 11, 27, ll. 7-9, 33, l. 4, 35-42, l. 3; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 1, l. 10, 2, l. penult., 21, l. 10, 33, l. 11, 41-50, 53, l. 13, 223, l. 18; Ibn al-Wardī, II, pp. 227, ll. 7 b ff., 239, l. 3 b, 241-5; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 266, 288, 292, 296; Šāliḥ b. Yahyā, pp. 108, l. 8, 109, l. 6, 174, ll. 5 ff.; *Khiṭāṭ*, II, p. 239, ll. 20 ff. (2nd ed., III, 389 t); *SM.*, II a, pp. 11, 21, n. 20, 23 m, 37, 110 m, 116, 129, 134, 145, 153; II b, pp. 23, 40-114; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 52<sup>v</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>); Jalāl ad-dīn as-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara* (Cairo, 1327 A.H.), II. 74-5; Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 437, ll. 7-15; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 115, l. 1, 124, l. 18 ff., 136-9; Weil, IV, cf. Index, Cheikho in Šāliḥ b. Yahyā, p. 47, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On a much obliterated specimen of the same coin recently found at 'Ajlūn, now in the Government Museum, Amman, the words [الدنيا والدين] are quite legible.

2. COPPER COIN (*fls*), Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.

*Obv.* Within double circle, plain and dotted,

السلطان  
ن الملك  
المنصور

*Rev.* In centre, blazon.

Around, within dotted circle

ضرب بدمشق لاجين

Dots, annulets, small ornaments, differentiating marks. 1.57 gr. Clipped, maximum width 18 mm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: As above.

### MAḤMŪD AL-‘AINĪ<sup>1</sup>

B. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Aḥmad, born at ‘Aintāb, the 17th Ramaḍān 762 (21st July 1361), son of a qādī, received a good ecclesiastical education, lived for a time as a wandering scholar; appointed Chief of Police (*muḥtasib*) in Cairo the 1st Dhu-l-Ḥijja 801 (4th August 1399); repeatedly dismissed from office but reappointed, in 803 (1400/1) became Inspector of Pious Foundations (*nāẓir al-abbās*), under Shaikh reinstated as Chief of Police; the 27th Rabī‘ II 829 (8th March 1426), became Qādī of the Hanafites; deposed, appointed for a second time, in 836 (1433) accompanied Barsbāy to Amid, in 842 (1438/9) dismissed from his office of qādī, in 846 (1442/3) was again holder of three different offices, namely: Chief of Police, Inspector of Pious

<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad b. ‘Abd as-Salām, *al-Badr at-tālī*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 518 Warn.); *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 330, l. 15 (2nd ed. IV. 139 m); *SM*. I b, 219 ff.; *Nuḡūm*, especially VI, pp. 594, l. 5, 595, l. 12, 598, l. 7, 651, ll. 5, 11, 673, l. 2, 692, l. 13, 722, l. 21, 774, l. 23; VII, pp. 2, l. 1, 127, l. 14, 363, l. ult.-366, l. 10; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 337<sup>r</sup>-339<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, especially II, p. 33, l. 6 b; Weil, V. 185, 212 f.; Wustenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 218 f.; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, II. 52 f.; Marçais in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. (Engl. ed. I. 213 f.).

It should be pointed out that up to the beginning of the ninth (fifteenth) century, the office of a Chief of Police was exclusively reserved for ecclesiastical officials. Beginning with the reign of Sultan Shaikh, this post was open to military men as well, Minklībughā having been the first amir to be invested with it (Qalqashandī, *Subḥ*, XI. 210). Al-‘Ainī’s blazon being accompanied by an inscription in which he is given the title of *al-maḡarr*, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that notwithstanding his ecclesiastical past, he was then considered a military man.

Foundations, and Chief Judge; in 853 (1449/50) lost these posts. Died the 4th Dhu-l-Hijja 855 (28th December 1451).

BLAZON: *Two fielded round shield. On red upper field a white pen-box, on dark-brown lower field a yellow vase placed between two white six-petalled rosettes.*

MADRASA and MAUSOLEUM, Cairo. Pl. LXI. 3.

Heraldic shields on the ceiling of the vestibule, the inscription on the frieze immediately below. The essential portion of the inscription runs as follows:

أمر بتجديد هذا السقف باني هذه المدرسة السعيد الفقير الى الله تعالى  
 ابو محمد محمود ابن أحمد العيني الحنفى . . . وذلك بتاريخ الثالث والعشرين  
 من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة خمسة وثلاثين وثمان مائة من الهجرة النبوية . . .

*Ordered the renovation of this ceiling the founder of this madrasa . . . Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAinī, the Hanafite. . . The date of this was the 23rd of the month Rabīʿ II of the year 853 of the Hijra (15th June 1449).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 120 (inscription without blazon).

Blazon reproduced and described: Wé, *Das Wappen des Sultans Muʿayyed*, p. 139 (as the title indicates with a wrong attribution); Artin, *Contribution*, No. 100, p. 123.

Blazon reproduced: Franz, *Die Baukunst des Islam*, p. 93 and pl.; Karabacek, *Abend-ländische Künstler*, p. 88 (where it is attributed to Sultan Shaikh).

Mentioned: Devonshire, *Sultan Salāḥ ed Dīn's Writing-Box*, p. 245.

## MAḤMŪD B. SHIRWĪN<sup>1</sup>

Najm ad-dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. Shirwīn, one of the few amirs who, even though of foreign origin, did not start their career as slaves, came to Cairo in 738 (1337/8) after having served for some time as vizier in Baghdad, appointed Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand<sup>2</sup> following upon his presentation to Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, became Vizier under al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr, dismissed by al-Malik al-Kāmil Shaʿbān, reinstated in

<sup>1</sup> Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 161<sup>r</sup>); *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 425, l. 28 f.; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 142<sup>v</sup>); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 343<sup>r,v</sup>); Weil, IV. 473.

<sup>2</sup> *Durar*, l.c.: Amir of Forty.

office by Ḥājī, towards the end of Jumādā II or early in Rajab<sup>1</sup> 748 (first half of October 1347) sent to Syria, killed by Manjak al-Yūsufī on arrival at Gaza.

BLAZON: *Upper field self-coloured, on united white middle and lower fields a red fleur-de-lis.*

1. GLASS LAMP, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, formerly collection Myers. Pl. XVIII.

Six shields.

Inscription on neck:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالی العالی العادل الممهّدى المشیرى

Inscription on body:

المديري الوزيرى النجمى | محمود بن على بن شرون ' | للملكى المظفرى مديري  
الممالك [1] لشريفة الإسلامية أعزّ الله تعالى أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, the Learned, the Just, the Administrator, the Councillor, the Regent, the Vizier, Najm ad-dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī b. Shirwīn, (officer) of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, Regent of the Noble Islamic Provinces, may God the Exalted make his victories glorious.*

DATE: Between Ḥājī's accession to the throne and Rajab 748.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon reproduced: Schmoranz, p. 18, fig. 13; Artin, *Contribution*, p. 58, fig. 8.

Mentioned: Lavoix, *Galerie orientale du Trocadéro*, p. 780; van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 79, n.; Prinett, *De l'origine*, p. 3; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II. 134; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 164.

2. GLASS LAMP, once in the collection Posno, then Gustave de Rothschild; present owner unknown.

Same inscription and shields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Migeon, *L'Exposition des Arts Musulmans au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, p. 25.

Mentioned: ll.cc. supra; Lamm, p. 448.

<sup>1</sup> *Manbal*, l.c.: Jumādā I.

## MAḤMŪD B. ZANKĪ (NURADIN)

On two buildings closely connected with Nūr ad-dīn the fleur-de-lis appears in an heraldic form. I mention these arms with a great deal of hesitation, since none of them are accompanied by an historical inscription.

1. MĀRISTĀN, Damascus. Pl. XIX. 1.

(a) Since the Great War, two shields were discovered by M. de Lorey each underneath the plaster of a small room.

(b) A shield on the door seen before 1880 seems to have disappeared since.

DATE: The Māristān was erected by Nūr ad-dīn in 1154.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (a) Unpublished.

Mentioned: Creswell, *Works of Bibars*, p. 153, n. 4.

(b) Mentioned and reproduced: Rogers, p. 106, fig. 7.

2. MAIN MOSQUE, Hims.<sup>1</sup> Pl. XIX. 3.

On a capital of a column at the door of the pulpit fleur-de-lis alternating with rosettes; the capitals are set upside down.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## MALAKTAMUR

BLAZON: *On the middle field of a three-fielded shield a sword. On both the upper and lower fields, traces of red paint.*

COMB, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4926.

One shield.

Inscription on the side of the comb.

سيف الدين ملكتمر السلاحدار

*Saif ad-dīn Malaktamur, the armour-bearer.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld in Sobernheim, 'Die Inschriften der Moschee von Hims' (in *Janus*, I), p. 234.



MĀMĀY<sup>1</sup>

S. Māmāy b. Khudād, originally a mamluk of Qāyṭbāy and his page (*ḵhāṣṣakī*), in Rajab 897 (May 1492) appointed Second Dawādār, repeatedly sent on diplomatic missions to Constantinople, in Ṣafar 901 (began 21st October 1495) promoted to the rank of a Commander of a Thousand. Following a revolt, after a lost battle at Khān Yūnus beheaded in 902 (first days of March 1497).

BLAZON: *On the upper field a napkin, on the middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on the lower field a cup.*

PALACE of Māmāy, Cairo, nowadays used as a law-court.

Several shields on the façade.<sup>2</sup>

Inscription in the bay of the portal, of which the visible portion runs as follows:

... ك المقرّ الكريم العالى السيفى مامای عين مقدمين<sup>1</sup> الألوف بالديار المصرية  
الملكى الأشرفى عزّ نصره بتاريخ شهر [ذى القعدة ?] الحرام سنة اِحدِه وتسعمائة

[Ordered the construction of this bless]ed [palace] His Honourable and High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Māmāy, Commander designate of a Thousand in Egypt of al-Malik al-Ashraf, may his victory be glorious. On the date of the month Dhu-l-Qa'da (?) of the year 901 (July–August 1496).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kay, l.c., p. 146 f.; *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 362, p. 541, figs. a and b.

Reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 18, p. 10.

Mentioned: *CR.*, l.c., p. 150 and n. 1.

MANJAK AL-YŪSUFĪ<sup>3</sup>

S. Manjak al-Yūsufī, a freed mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, served as armour-bearer (*silahdār*), employed on special missions, made Amir of a

<sup>1</sup> *Dau'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 a, Warn. p. 406); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, s.vv., M. al-ḵhāṣṣakī and M. ad-dawādār, especially II, pp. 274, l. 16, 281, l. 18 ff., 292, l. 10 b, 315, l. 4, 316, l. penult.–317, l. 2; Weil, V. 351; Kay, 'Arabic Inscriptions in Egypt' (in *JRAS.* 1896), p. 148; *CIA. Egypte*, I. 542, 545 f.; *CR.* Exerc. 1902, fasc. 19, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> These shields are badly preserved; some charges have become obliterated on this, others on another shield, a fact which misled van Berchem into assuming, l.c., p. 541, that there were two different shields to be distinguished on this monument.

<sup>3</sup> *Ḵhiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 317, l. 10, 320–4 (2nd ed. IV. 118–19, 124–30); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, 3779)

Hundred and Great Chamberlain (*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*) in Damascus, which he entered on 28th Rajab 748 (3rd November 1347). Appointed Vizier and Major-domo in Shawwāl 748 (January 1348), an office that with one interruption (forty days from the 3rd Rabī' I 749 (1st June 1348) onward) he held until Saturday, 24th Shawwāl 751 (25th December 1350). Subsequently his possessions were confiscated and he himself put into prison, where he remained until he was freed by Ṭāz under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, and made Commander of a Thousand. Governor of Tripoli 755-9 (1354-8). For a short time during 759 Governor of Aleppo; Viceroy of Syria from 771 (1369/70)<sup>1</sup> to 775 (1373/4), then Viceroy of Egypt and Commander-in-Chief down to his death, Thursday, 29th Dhu-l-Hijja 776 (31st May 1375). Buried in his mausoleum near his mosque and khānqāh opposite the Citadel, near the Bāb al-Wazīr.

BLAZON: *On the middle field of a three-fielded shield a scimitar.*

1. PALACE in the Sūq as-Silāḥ, Cairo.

Inscription above the pendentives, intersected by shields, the essential portion of which runs as follows:

... أمر بإنشاء هذا المكان المبارك المقرّ الأشرف العالی المولوی الأمیری  
الكبرى ... السیفی سیف الدین منجك السلاح دار الملكى المظفرى ...

*Ordered to build this blessed place His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir ... Saif ad-dīn Manjak, the armour-bearer, (officer) of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. ...*

DATE: During the reign of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji 747-8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CR.* fasc. IX, p. 45, pls. I, II; *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 532, p. 737 f.

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, fig. 131, p. 130 (without attribution).

2. BATH, Bosra; slab of stone now serving as a lintel in the house of the shaikh of the village.

fo. 147<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>); *Nujūm*, obituaries, s. a. 776 (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 189<sup>r,v</sup>); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 364<sup>r</sup>-366<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially I, pp. 190, l. 13, penult., 193, l. 4b, 195, ll. 7, 9, 205-6, 207, l. 16, 208, l. 15, 225, l. 6b, 228, l. penult., 230, l. 10ff.; Weil, IV. 477-9, 485, 492, 502, n. 1, 522; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 208 f., 226, 738.

<sup>1</sup> According to *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 323, l. 32, from Jumādā I 769 onward, *Manḥal*, l.c., from 769 onward.

Shield between two halves of the inscription.

(1) أَنشَأَ هَذَا الْحَمَامَ الْمُبَارَكَةَ الْمُقَرَّرَ الْأَشْرَفَ السَّيْفِي (2) مِنْجَكَ الْأَشْرَفِي كَافِلَ

الممالك الشريفة [لشأم] [a few words missing] (3) [three words missing]

مَتَوَلَّى بِصَرَى وَأَعْمَالَهَا الْخَاصَّ<sup>1</sup> وَالْعَامَ يَرْجُو أَنْ يَرْحِمَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي شَهْرٍ [a few]

(Van Berchem) [words missing]

*Constructed this blessed bath His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Manjak al-Asbrafi, Viceroy of the Noble provinces of S[yria . . . under the supervision of . . .] the District Officer of Boşra and its districts, for high and low, praying that God the Exalted have mercy upon him. In the months . . .*

DATE: The extreme limits for the date of this building are 769-75.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

3. MADRASA, Damascus, Rue Midan.

In 1927, M. E. de Lorey told me that prior to the disturbances in 1925, there was in this madrasa an heraldic shield cut in stone. The blazon, *a scimitar on the middle field of a three-fielded shield*, being identical with Manjak's arms and the mosque built by him, there is little doubt as to its identity. The stone has disappeared since.

## MANKUWĪRISH

Perhaps identical with R. Mankuwīrish al-Fāruqānī<sup>2</sup> who died in 688 (1289).

BLAZON: *Napkin on undivided field.*

SLAB OF LIMESTONE used as lid of a cistern near the Mosque in the medieval town of Qal'at ar-Rabaḍ on the right-hand side of the road leading to the Castle of 'Ajlūn. Pl. XXIX.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ

وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ

<sup>1</sup> Probably a mistake for للخاص.

<sup>2</sup> Şafadī, *Wāfi*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., 23359, fo. 25<sup>r</sup>); SM. II 2, 45, 103.

(2) ③ جدد عمارة هذا المسجد المبارك العبد الفقير إلى ② الله تعالى الأمير

الأجل ركن الدين منكويرش ③

(3) الجمدار المنصوري النائب بعجلون في أيام مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور

خلد الله ملكه في جمادى الأول سنة ست وثمانين وستمئة

*In the name of the most merciful God. He only shall visit the Mosques of God who believeth in God and the last day and feareth God alone (Qur'ān, IX. 18, omitting four words). Renewed the building of this blessed mosque the servant yearning for God the Exalted, the most magnificent Amir Rukn ad-dīn Mankuwīrish, the jamdār of (al-Malik) al-Manṣūr, Governor of 'Aylūn. In the days of our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, may God make his reign eternal, in Jumādā I of the year 686 (began 14th June 1287).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*, II, pp. 58 ff., fig. 44.

On Schumacher's squeeze, published by van Berchem, l.c., the three heraldic shields look all different, the first like a crescent, the second like a horseshoe, the third like a table. Three different blazons in a text mentioning only two names excluded the possibility of one being the blazon of the amir and the other of his master and the problem seemed to be the more difficult as none of the three emblems was the symbol of office of a jamdār. As Schumacher's squeeze had to be retouched before it was fit for publication, and a misinterpretation of the original was not impossible, I asked Major Horsfield, the Director of Antiquities in Transjordan, for a photograph of this blazon. Major Horsfield most obligingly supplied me with a new squeeze of the whole inscription, which proves (a) that the first emblem visible on fig. 44 in van Berchem's article is only one of the dots filling intervening spaces between letters, (b) that the second line begins with a shield, which has been cut off Schumacher's squeeze, and (c) that all three emblems are absolutely identical, and all of them show a napkin on a round shield. Therefore it is the ordinary blazon of a jamdār and forms no exception to the rule.

## MUBĀRAK

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields self-coloured, on yellow middle field red cup.*

GLASS LAMP, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, formerly collection Myers. Pl. XXVIII. 1.

Six shields.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, II. 256 up to

وما في الأرض

Inscription on body:

العبد الفقير الى | الله تعالى الجنب العالى | الأمير الكبيرى | لغازى  
الملكى | المخدومى الزينى مبارك | الملكى الصالحى |

*The servant yearning for God the Exalted, His High Excellency (janāb), the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Royal, the Well-Served, Zain ad-dīn Mubārak, (officer) of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 77, p. 116 (without name and surname).

Mentioned: *CIA. Egypte*, I. 661, n. 6; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 164, No. 50; Lamm, p. 442 f.

### MUBĀRAK B. ṢĀLIḤ

BLAZON: *Cup placed between two daggers on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

SHRINE at Jinsāfūt, District of Nablus, locally known as az-Zāwiya. Pl. XXIV. 3.

Inscription over the entrance-door; two lines, intersected by one shield.

(1) لا إله إلا الله ○ محمد رسول الله

(2) عمّر هذا المكان مبارك ابن صالح ○ الوسى بتاريخ سنة أحد وتسعين

وسبع مائة عمل داوود

*There is no God but Allah, Muḥammad is His Apostle. This place has been built by Mubārak b. Ṣāliḥ Alūsī (?) in the year 791 (1389). Work of Dāwūd.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### SĪDĪ MUḤAMMAD

BLAZON: *Pen-box (without the third element) on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

METAL BOX, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Pl. XXXVI. 2.

Two shields on the sides of the box facing each other.

The historical inscription runs as follows:

مَا عَمِلَ بِرِسْمِ الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى سَيِّدِي مُحَمَّدٍ النَّاصِرِيِّ

*This is one of the objects made for the servant yearning for God the Exalted Sīdī Muḥammad an-Nāṣirī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD

BLAZON: *Emblem No. 8 on undivided shield.*

WINDOW of the Mausoleum of Baraka Khān, known as the Khāldiyya Library, Jerusalem. Pl. XL. 2.

Two shields flanking the inscription:

(1) أَنشَأَ هَذَا الشَّبَاكَ وَالْقَبَّةَ بِتَرْبَةِ الْمَرْحُومِ الشَّهِيدِ الْمَلِكِ حَسَامِ الدِّينِ بَرَكَهَ خَانَ

وَالْقَنْظَرَةَ وَعُلُوهَا وَالْبَوَابَ الْمُبَارَكَةَ وَالْمَسْقَاةَ (2) وَالْحَوَانِيتَ وَعُلُوهُمْ<sup>1</sup> وَخَمْسَ بَيْوتَ بَدَارَ

الْوَقْفِ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ تَمَرٍ الْعِلَالِيُّ لَطَفَ اللَّهُ بِهِ فِي

مُسْتَهْلِ الْقَعْدَةِ الْحَرَامِ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَتَسْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

*This window and the dome in the mausoleum of the late martyr Prince Ḥusām ad-dīn Baraka Khān and the arch and the [rooms] above it and the blessed portal and the trough and the shops and the [rooms] above them and five houses<sup>1</sup> in the Waqf-house have been constructed by the one yearning for God the Exalted, Muḥammad son of Aḥmad, son of Timur<sup>2</sup> al-'Alā'ī, may God show kindness unto him, on the 1st of the sacred Dhū-l-Qa'da of the year 792 (11th October 1390).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, No. 63, pp. 192 ff., fig. 30, pl. XLVIII.

Blazon reproduced: Rogers, fig. 54.

<sup>1</sup> The word بَيْوت here probably means 'rooms' as in the present vulgar Arabic of Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> In reading this name, van Berchem hesitated between تَمَر and تَمَر, then decided to adopt the latter. I am inclined to consider either تَمَر or تَمَر as the more satisfactory from the point of view of palaeography, and تَمَر, being a Turkish name, as the more probable.

## MUḤAMMAD AL-'ALAWĪ

BLAZON: *On undivided shield emblem No. 33.*

CANDLESTICK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Pl. XLVIII.

Inscription on body of the candlestick intersected by two shields, two other shields on the top part of the neck:

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی العالمی الشریفی ○ الناصری السید ناصر  
الدين محمد العلوی دامت سعادتہ ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), the Learned, the Governing, the Noble, the Master, Nāṣir ad-dīn Muḥammad al-'Alawī, may his happiness last for ever.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## MUḤAMMAD AL-KHAZINDĀR

BLAZON: *Cup on undivided shield, later replaced by a three-fielded shield with a napkin on the middle field.*

BRONZE EWER, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, formerly in the Edward C. Moore Collection. Pl. XXIII.

Three shields on the body of the ewer underneath the inscription.

Inscription on neck:

مما عمل برسم (الجنب) العالی المولوی السیفی (ناصر) الدين محمد الخزندار

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, as-Saifī Nāṣir ad-dīn Muḥammad, the Treasurer.*

The two words in round brackets are not visible on the photograph, but can be reconstructed from the second inscription.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی المولوی المالكی المخدمی المجاهدی المرباطی السیفی  
الناصری ناصر الدين محمد الخزندار

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, as-Saifī Nāṣir ad-dīn Muḥammad, the Treasurer.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned and reproduced: A.M.S., 'Saracenic Metalwork' (in *BMMNY*. 1907, p. 152); Dimand, *BMMNY*. 1926, p. 198, fig. 3; id. *Handbook*, p. 115, fig. 54.

## MUḤAMMAD B. KITBUGHĀ

BLAZON: *On lower field of a two-fielded shield a red cup.*

1. BRASS DISH, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XXII. 3.

Nine pointed shields changed, with a visible effort, by a rather unskilled later hand into round shields, upper and lower fields white (silver inlay), on the middle field a cup. Three inscriptions in concentric circles.

The outer inscription:

مما عمل برسم الجنب الكريم العالی ○ المولى الناصرى امير محمد بن  
المقر ○ الشريف المرحوم الزينى كتبنا عز نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Honourable and High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, Nāṣir ad-dīn Amīr Muḥammad, son of His Noble Excellency, the late Zain ad-dīn Kitbughā, may his victory be glorious.*

The middle one:

مما عمل برسم الجنب الكريم العالی المولى الأميرى الكبيرى الغازى  
المجاهدى المرابطى المشاغرى المالكى العالى العالمى العادلى الكفلى الظهيرى  
الكافلى النظامى القوامى المخدومى الناصرى أمير محمد بن المقر المرحوم الزينى |

*This is one of the objects made for His Honourable and High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Royal, the Learned, the Governor, the Just, the Viceroy,<sup>1</sup> the Protector, the Regent, the Well-Served, Nāṣir ad-dīn Amīr Muḥammad, son of His late Excellency Zain ad-dīn.*

<sup>1</sup> For *al-kāfilī* and *al-kafilī*.



The central inscription contains merely an abridgement of the middle one.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 71.

2. CANDLESTICK, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 2331.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم الجنب الكريم العالى الناصرى ○ أمير محمد بن المقر الشريف  
المرحوم الزينى كتبنا عز نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Honourable and High Excellency (janāb), Nāṣir ad-dīn Amir Muḥammad, son of His Noble Excellency, the late Zain ad-dīn Kitbughā, may his victory be glorious.*

The same inscription repeated on the upper part of the body and on the mouth-piece of the candlestick. On the latter with the addition of the words *ال مولوى* our Lord, the and suppressing the pious wish *عز نصره* at the end.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *Catalogue*, p. 172 f.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 71.

3. CANDLESTICK, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 2332.

Same as above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mentioned: Herz, l.c., p. 172; Wiet, l.c.

## MUḤAMMAD AL-MALAṬĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field two napkins, on middle field a cup, on lower field a cup.*

COPPER BASIN, tinned over, Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Berlin. Pl. LVI. 2, 3.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقر العالى الناصرى محمد الملقى غفر له

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, Nāṣir ad-dīn Muḥammad al-Malaṭī, may he be pardoned.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

# MUḤAMMAD B. MUBĀRAKSHĀH AL-‘ALĀ’Ī

BLAZON: *Pen-box on middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Tripoli, locally known as ‘Ain at-tīna.

Four shields in the corners of the inscription embedded in the rear wall of the niche of the fountain.

(1) بسمه . . . (2) أنشأ هذا السبيل الفقير الى الله تعالى (3) محمد بن  
المرحوم زين الدين [مباركشاه العلاني] (4) في مستهل [one word] سنة ست عشرة  
و[ثم] [ثم] [ثم]

. . . *Constructed this public fountain, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Muḥammad, son of the late Zain ad-dīn Mubārakshāh al-‘Alā’ī, the 1st . . . of the year 816 (began 3rd April 1413).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, No. 53, p. 123 f., fig. 12, pl. XIII (left).

# MUḤAMMAD B. AN-NASHĀSHĪBĪ<sup>1</sup>

Na. Muḥammad b. an-Nashāshībī, treasurer (*khāẓindār*) of Qāyṭbāy, in Muḥarram 875 (July 1470) appointed Superintendent of the two Harams in Jerusalem and in Hebron. Died after 893 (1488).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box (of which the third element is missing) and placed between a ‘pair of trousers’, on the lower field a cup.*

MADRASA ASHRAFIYYA, Jerusalem.

Above the northern windows overlooking the small entrance-place to the Haram in front of the Bāb as-Silsila, one shield to the right of the inscription:

A أمر بإنشاء هذه المدرسة الشريفة مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف أبو النصر  
قايتهاي عز نصره

<sup>1</sup> Mujir ad-dīn, pp. 621 f., 672; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, pp. 342, 364.

To the left of this text in a circle:

B (1) بتأريخ مستهل شهر ربيع الأول (2) سنة خمس وسبعين وثمانى مائة

وذلك فى (3) أيام مولانا المقرّ الأشرف الناصرى سيدى محمد (4) الخازندار ناظر  
الحرمين الشريفين (5) عظم الله شأنه

A. *Ordered to construct this Noble Madrasa, our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu-n-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy, may his victory be glorious,*

B. *on the date of the 1st Rabī' I of the year 875 (28th August 1470), and this (was done) in the days of our Lord, His Most Noble Excellency, Nāṣir ad-dīn Sīdī Muḥammad, the treasurer, Superintendent of the two Noble Harams, may God increase his dignity.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIA. *Jérusalem, Ville*, No. 105, figs. 65, 66, p. 358.

## MUḤAMMAD B. QALĀŪN

Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, held the throne three times, during the years 693-4 (1293-4), 698-708 (1299-1309), and 709-41 (1310-41).

There is a number of objects with inscriptions with the formula 'izz li-maulānā . . . al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad or even Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, and showing blazons of amirs whose names are not mentioned in the accompanying texts, such as the glass lamp in the Musée Jacquemart-André. These objects need not be discussed, as there is no proof whatever that their coats of arms are those of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn,<sup>1</sup> but we have to consider another group of blazons none of which could be attributed to Muḥammad with full certainty, but which, considered as a whole, seem to indicate that it is not only possible, but perhaps even probable, that they are his arms.

BLAZON: *Brown rosette on undivided pink shield.*

1. Fragment of GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4070.

Inscription on neck intersected by three shields: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body:

<sup>1</sup> The same applies to the theory that his arms were fishes, cf. p. 26.

. . . السلطنة الملكية الناصرية . . .

. . . of the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir . . .

DATE: Wiet attributes this lamp to the first reign of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 137 f., pl. XII.

Mentioned: *CR. Exerc.* 1914, fasc. 31, pp. 70-1; Lamm, p. 435, No. 28.

2. COPPER COIN (*fls*), British Museum, London, Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.

*Obv.* Six-petalled rosette.

*Rev.*

السلطان

ن الملك

الناصر

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, IV, No. 528 a, p. 159.

3. COPPER COIN (*fls*), British Museum, London.

*Obv.* In centre, six-petalled rosette.

Around

ضرب . . . سبعمئة

*Rev.*

السلطان

الملك الناصر

عز نصره

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, l.c., IX, No. 528 b, p. 349.

MUḤAMMAD B. UZBAK<sup>1 2</sup>

Na. Muḥammad, son of Uzbek min Tuṭukh, through his mother grandson of al-Malik az-Zāhir Jaqmaq, in 887 (1482) dubbed Amir of Ten, in 898 (1493) headed the pilgrims' caravan to Mecca (*amīr raḥb al-anwal*). Died after 904.

BLAZON: *On upper field a napḳin, on middle field a cup placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*<sup>3</sup> *Napḳin, cup on middle field and the lower field covered with ornaments.*

BASIN, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 206—1892.

Inscription on the rim intersected by four shields, repeated on body.

مما عمل برسم المقر	لأشرف الكرم
العالى الناصرى	سیدی محمد نجل المقر
الأشرف الكرم	العالى المولى
الأتابكى السيفى أربك	الملكى الأشرفى

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, Nāṣir ad-dīn Sīdī Muḥammad, son (najl) of His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Commander-in-Chief Saif ad-dīn Uzḥak, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf.*

DATE: Some time after 887 and prior to 904 (date of death of Uzbek).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, fig. 84, p. 118 (without identification).

## MUḤIBB AD-DĪN

BLAZON: *On each of the ornamented upper and lower fields a napḳin, on middle field a pen-box.*

1. COPPER DISH tinned over, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 856—1901.

Inscription round heraldic shield in the centre of the dish.

<sup>1</sup> *Dan*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 a, Warn., p. 610); Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 214, l. 6 b, 278, l. 19, 279, l. 9 b, 355, l. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the biography of his father, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the blazon of his father, p. 244.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف محبّ الدين مستوفى الخاّص الشريفة عظم شأنه

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble Excellency, Muḥibb ad-dīn, Keeper of the Noble Privy Purse, may his dignity increase.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. COPPER BASIN tinned over, collection H. E. Bowman, Esq., Jerusalem.  
Four shields and inscription on the outer side of the basin.

○ مما عمل برسم الجناب العالى المحبى محبّ الدين كاتب ا ○ ○ اخزانة

الشريفة بالشام المحروس عظم المولا شأنه ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), Muḥibb ad-dīn,<sup>1</sup> Scribe in the Noble Treasury in Damascus, the protected. May the Lord increase his dignity.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## MUḤSIN<sup>2</sup>

Z. Muḥsin al-Fathī al-Manūfī, an Abyssinian eunuch, under Qāyṭbāy succeeded Sunbul as Archivist (*khāẓin*),<sup>3</sup> in 904 (1498/9) appointed Chief of the Corps of Cup-bearers (*ra's naubat as-suqāt*), repeatedly subjected to heavy fines and confiscation of property.

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkīn, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER LUNCH-BOX (*maṭbaqiyya*) tinned over, in possession of R. A. Harari, Esq., London.

Identical inscriptions on receptacle and lid.

<sup>1</sup> Most probably not identical with Muḥibb ad-dīn al-Aslamī, in 885 *kātib al-khizāna* in Damascus; Ibn Ṭūlūn, p. 82 (r), l. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Daw'*, s.v.(MS. Leyden, Warn. 369 a, p. 410); Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 352, l. 15, 360, l. 11, 373, ll. 2, 9.

<sup>3</sup> So styled in the inscription and by Sakhāwī; Ibn Iyās calls him *khāẓindār*, which, seeing that the *khazindārs* were usually eunuchs, is self-explanatory.

مما عمل برسم الجنب الزينى محسن الخازن الأشرفى عز نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His Excellency (janāb), Zain ad-dīn Muḥsin, kbāẓin of (al-Malik) al-Ashraf, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### MUḤYĪ AD-DĪN AL-QĀDIRĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a pen-box, on lower field a napkin.*

LUNCH-BOX, copper tinned over. Collection Prof. Rīzā Bey Taufiq, Amman. Main inscription<sup>1</sup> intersected by four shields.

مما عمل برسم العبد الفقير [أ]راجى عفو ربه ○ ○ ربه القدير محيي الدين  
القادري ○ ○

*This is one of the objects made for the poor servant, hoping for forgiveness from his Omnipotent Lord, Muḥyī ad-dīn al-Qādirī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### MUQBIL AR-RŪMĪ<sup>2</sup>

Z.<sup>3</sup> Muqbil al-Ḥusāmī, of Anatolian origin, an amir at Damascus, originally a mamluk of Ḥusām ad-dīn Lājīn, served under Shaikh, who, on ascending the throne, made him a page, *kbāṣṣakī*, and Chief of the Masters of the Robes (*ra's naubat al-jamdāriyya*). Advanced in his career till he was appointed Second Dawādār and following the appointment of Jaqmaq al-Arghūnshāwī as Governor of Damascus, he became Grand Dawādār, the 3rd Shawwāl 822

<sup>1</sup> From a rubbing kindly supplied by Sa'īd Eff. Rīzā.

<sup>2</sup> *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 360<sup>v</sup>-361<sup>r</sup>); *Nujūm*, VI, cf. Index, especially pp. 394, l. 9, 406, l. 12 f., 480, ll. 19 ff., 481, ll. 7 ff., 483, l. 1, 560, l. 15 f., 572, l. 20 f., 713, l. 17, 828, ll. 18 ff.; *Dau'* s.v.; Weil, V. 169, 192; Ibn Iyās, II, p. 163, ll. 2-3, mentioned the death of another Muqbil ad-Dawādār under the events of Ramaḍān 880 (began 29th December 1475). This Muqbil was originally a mamluk of Taghrībīrdī al-Mu'ayyadī.

<sup>3</sup> In *Nujūm*, VI, p. 828, l. 18, called Saif ad-dīn.

(23rd October 1419). Remained in office until the death of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh. Under al-Malik al-Muzaffar Aḥmad fled to Damascus and became a partisan of Jaqmaq. On the latter's capture, Muqbil was imprisoned for a time, then freed and appointed Grand Chamberlain, *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*, of Damascus. In Jumādā II 825 (began 23rd May 1422), under Barsbāy, appointed Governor of Safad, confirmed Monday, 2nd Muḥarram 827 (6th December 1423), remained there up to the time of his death, Friday, the 29th Rabī' I 837 (13th November 1433).

BLAZON: (a) *on golden upper field a self-coloured pen-box, on golden middle field self-coloured cup, on self-coloured lower field golden cup charged with a napkin.*

BLAZON: (b) *golden shield, on upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup, on bottom field possibly also a cup.*

CHAMFRON, Musée de la Ville, Lyon. Pl. LX.

Inscription:

المقرّ الأشرف الزينى مقبل الدوادار الملكى المؤيد [ى] عزّ نصره للفرّة المباركة

*His Most Noble Excellency, Zain ad-dīn Muqbil, the Dawādār of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, may his victory be glorious. For the blessed blaze.*

The *مؤيدى* of *ى* may have been merged into the arabesque between the *د* of *مؤيدى* and the *ص* of *نصره*.

Blazon (a) is placed below the inscription, blazon (b) on both sides of it, but the latter appears on the ear pieces of the chamfron which were made of separate sheets of metal.

Date: Between 822 (his appointment as Grand Dawādār) and 824 (Shaikh's death).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## MŪSĀ<sup>1</sup>

Sh. Mūsā an-Nāsirī, Chamberlain of Aleppo, some time after 751 appointed Governor of Bīreh, died there in 756 (1355) as a septuagenarian.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. Āqūsh (MS. Berlin, fo. 29<sup>r</sup>) and s.v. Arghūn al-Kāmīlī (ib., fo. 24<sup>r</sup>, l. 11); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 381, 402; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 150<sup>v</sup>); Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām an-nubalā'*, V. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, l.c. (fo. 152<sup>r</sup>) gives the biography of a certain Mūsā, *ḥājib* of Aleppo, who became Governor of Bīreh and died there in Rabī' II 750 (began 19th June 1349). This is probably only another version of the biography of our Mūsā.



BLAZON: *Horse with ceremonial saddle on undivided shield.*

CARAVANSERAI in ruins, known as Khān al-'Asal, south-west of Aleppo, on the way to at-Tarib.

Inscription over the arch, flanked by two shields.

(1) جدد هذا الخان المبارك بتدبير المقرّ الأشرف العالی الشرفی موسى أمير

(2) حاحب بالملكة الحلبیة عزّ نصره وكان الفراغ منه فی شهر جمادی الآخر

سنة اربعة واربعين وسبعمئة

*This blessed caravanserai was renewed owing to the care of His Most Noble and High Excellency, Sharaf ad-dīn Mūsā, Amīr Chamberlain in the province of Aleppo, may his victory be glorious. Completed in the month of Jumādā II 744 (began 21st October 1343).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### MŪSĀ B. 'ALĪ B. QALĀŪN<sup>1</sup>

Muẓaffar ad-dīn Mūsā b. al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ 'Alī b. Qalāūn born in 687 (1288) at the latest, in 698 (February 1299) on Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's second accession to the throne dubbed amīr, in 704 (1304/5) married Salār's daughter, in 710 (1310/11) put in prison, later sent to Qūṣ. Died in 718<sup>2</sup> (began 5th March 1318). Built a house in the Gharabliyyīn Quarter, Cairo.

BLAZON: *Crested eagle looking to the right.*

TITLE-PAGE of *ar-Rauḍ az-ẓābir min sīrat . . . al-Malik an-Nāṣir*, a history of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's expedition against Qutlūshāh, Asiatic Museum, Leningrad. Pl. XIV. The coat of arms in the centre of the page, the inscription on the lower margin.

برسم الخزانة العالیة المولیة السیدیة المخدمیة المظفریة موسى بن السلطان الشهيد

الملك الصالح قدس الله روحه

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 145, l. 9, 154, l. 13; Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 315; *SM*, II b, 127, 246; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 150<sup>v</sup>-151<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 118, l. 11; Weil, IV, 306 f.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen and Ibn Ḥabīb, ll.cc., mention his death under the events of the year 710.

*For the library of (His) High (Excellency), our Lord, the Master, the Well-Served, Muẓaffar ad-dīn Mūsā, son of the late Sultan al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, may God sanctify his soul.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique*, No. 164, pp. 102 ff.

### MŪSĀ B. ARUQTĀY<sup>1</sup>

Muẓaffar ad-dīn Mūsā b. Ḥājj Aruqtāy (q.v.), Commander of a Thousand under Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, died as Governor of Safad in 774 (1372).

BLAZON: *Napkin on undivided shield.*

CENOTAPH, Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥāmid, Safad.

Blazon on each of the two pillars flanking the inscription.<sup>2</sup>

(1) بِسْمِهِ . . . (2) كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيَّهَا فَإِنْ وَيَبْقَى وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ ذُو آ(3) لَجَلَالٍ وَالْأَكْرَامِ

تَوَفَّى الْعَبْدَ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى اللَّهِ (4) تَعَالَى مُوسَى بْنُ أَرْقُطَايَ فِي سَادِسَ رَبِيعِ الْآخِرِ  
سَنَةِ أَرْبَعَةِ وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

*In the name of the most merciful God. Every creature which liveth on the earth is subject to decay: but the glorious and honourable countenance of thy Lord shall remain for ever (Qur'ān, IV. 26, 27) The servant yearning for God the Exalted, Mūsā, son of Aruqtāy, passed away on the 6th Rabī' II 774 (5th September 1372).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

This blazon is of particular interest for the study of the problem of heredity. Consisting as it does of an emblem on an undivided shield, it is more suggestive of the days of the first reign of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, when Ḥājj Aruqtāy was dubbed amir, than of those of 1347 (Ḥasan's first accession to the throne) or 1354. The device, too, the sign of office of a *jamdār*, is indicative of his father's early career, so that the conclusion that we are

<sup>1</sup> *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 150<sup>v</sup>); *Nujūm*, s.a. 774 (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 183<sup>r</sup> and <sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 210, l. 9. Incidentally, this passage enables us to understand the expression *awlād an-nās*, meaning 'sons of military dignitaries'. Cf. similar passages: I. Iyās, I, pp. 235, ll. 4, 9; II, 118, l. 9; III, 52, l. 12 b.

<sup>2</sup> A similar arrangement on the tomb of Quṭlū Khātūn (q.v.).

here dealing with the blazon of Ḥājj Aruqtāy, inherited by his son, can hardly be considered far-fetched. As for the blazon of Aruqtāy himself,<sup>1</sup> I can only repeat that as neither the emblem nor the division of the shield seems to agree with the data known about him, it would seem advisable to refrain from expressing an opinion until the vase published by Rogers, and at present completely lost sight of, be found, when we shall be able to ascertain whether the blazon and the inscription mentioning Aruqtāy's name are in any way connected.

MŪSĀ B. YAGHMŪR<sup>2</sup>

J. Mūsā b. Yaghmūr b. Jaldak (?) al-Yārūqī, born in the province of Ṣa'īd in 599 (1202/3), Governor of Cairo under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, subsequently Governor of Damascus, under al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh in 648. Appointed major-domo in Cairo under Baybars. Died 663 (1264/5) at Quṣair in Egypt.

BLAZON: *White eight-petalled rosette without shield.*

COPPER VASE, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XXXIV. 2.

Six shields, silver inlaid, three intersecting the inscription, three on the lower half of the vase.

Inscription:

برسم ○ الأمير الكبير ○ جمال الدين موسى ○ ابن يغمور

*For the Great Amir Jamāl ad-dīn Mūsā b. Yaghmūr.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## NĀNIQ AL-ASHRAFĪ

Perhaps identical with Nāniq az-Zāhirī<sup>3</sup> in the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Aynāl, killed before the 9th Sha'bān 863 (11th June 1459), or, what is less probable, with Nāniq al-Muḥammadi az-Zāhirī,<sup>4</sup> the 7th Dhu-l-Hijja 867

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Mufaḍḍal, ed. Blochet, p. 143; Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23359, fo. 58<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 251; *SM*, I b, 23; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 378<sup>r</sup>-379<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *Nujūm*, VII, p. 519, l. 1; Weil, V. 267.

<sup>4</sup> *Nujūm*, VII, pp. 717, l. 18, 743, ll. 2, 5, 12, 744, l. 5, 747, l. 12, 749, l. 7; Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 92, l. 7 b, 103, l. 10; Weil, V. 329 f.

(23rd August 1463) appointed Junior Marshal (*amīr akbūr thānī*), served in Ṣafar 871 (September–October 1466) as Superintendent of the Cellar (*shādd ash-sharābkhānā*), shortly afterwards appointed Chief of the Corps of the Mamluks, in 872 (1468) fell in the expedition against Siwār.<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field two cups, on lower field a napkin.*

COPPER DISH tinned over, in the collection of Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Cyprus.

Four shields, the fifth, in the centre, is now entirely obliterated. Of the three inscriptions the middle one is of historical interest. Pl. LVIII. 5, 7.

مما عمل برسم المقر العالي ○ المولى السيدى المالكى ○ المخدمى الأميرى  
نانق ○ الملكى الأشرافى عز انصاره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, Amir Nāniq, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Mayer, *Guide to the Exhibition of Moslem Heraldry*, p. 5, No. 6.

## NAURŪZ AL-ḤĀFIZĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Naurūz al-Ḥāfizī, originally a mamluk of Barqūq, served as one of his pages, became Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, in 797 succeeded Taghrībirdī, the father of the historian, as Chief of the Corps of the Mamluks (*ra's naubat an-nunwāb*), in Rabī' II 800 (began 22nd December 1397) appointed Grand Marshal, the 13th Ṣafar 801 (25th October 1398) arrested and imprisoned in Alexandria, because he took part in a rebellion against Barqūq, in 802 released, became again Chief of the Corps of the

<sup>1</sup> A third amir of this name, Nāniq al-Yashbakī (Bertrandon de la Broquière, ed. Schefer, p. xxxix, *Nujūm*, VI, p. 606, l. 11), who fell in 829 in the campaign against Cyprus, need not be considered.

<sup>2</sup> *Dan'*, s.v.; *Nujūm*, cf. Index, especially VI, pp. 23, l. 13, 25, l. 7, 27, l. 10, 70, l. 3, 98, l. ult., 126, l. 11, 129, l. 5, 168, l. 7, 173, l. 19, 178, l. 16, 183, l. 16, 187, l. 8, 204, l. 12, 230, l. 19, 318, l. 4, 334, l. 1, 339, l. 14, 442–3; *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 388<sup>r</sup>–390<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 308, ll. 7, 12, 312, ll. 22, 26, 320, l. ult., 321, l. 4 f., 328, l. 19, 336, ll. 5 b, 337, l. 18, penult., 341, l. 5, 344, ll. 10, 21, 346, ll. 8 f., 13 f., 351, l. penult., 352, l. 15, 353, ll. 3, 5, 354, ll. 2, 5, 3 b, 355, ll. 16, 20, 25, ult., 356, l. 3, 357, l. ult., 358, ll. 7 ff.; II. 3 b–5, l. 2. Weil, especially V. 13, 75, 104, 106, 109, 111, 113–20, 123, 127, 130, 131, 133; Sobernheim, *Die Inschriften der Zitadelle von Damaskus*, p. 20 f.

Mamluks (*ra's naubat al-umarā'*) and one of the most powerful amirs, in the course of the following years several times appointed Viceroy of Syria; together with Shaikh al-Maḥmūdī stirred up a rebellion against Sultan Faraj and murdered him in Ṣafar 815 (May 1412), under al-Musta'īn billāh confirmed as Viceroy of Syria, opposed Shaikh after the latter's accession, was defeated and executed the 21st<sup>1</sup> Rabī' II 817 (10th July 1414). Built a dome over the fountain in the Khānqāh Shaikhūniyya, Cairo.

1. MAIN MOSQUE, Damascus. Pl. LIV. 3.

Inscription on the bronze revetment of the North Gate.

Upper half:

eastern wing

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ ۞ الرَّحِيمِ أَدْخُلُوهَا

western wing

بِسْلَامٍ آمِنِينَ جَدِّدَ هَذَا الْبَابَ ۞ الْمُبَارَكَ فِي شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْحَرَمِ سَنَةِ تِسْعِ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ

*In the name of the most merciful God. Enter ye therein in peace and security (Qur'ān, XV. 46). This blessed door was renewed in the month of God Muḥarram of the year 809 (began 18th June 1406).*

Lower half:

eastern wing

عَمَّرَ هَذَا الْبَابَ الْمُبَارَكَ ۞ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ

western wing

الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ فَرَجِ بْنِ بَرْقُوقَ ۞ بِإِشْرَاهُ مَوْلَانَا مَلِكِ الْأُمَرَاءِ نَوْرُوزِ

*This blessed door was built in the days of our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir Faraj, son of Barqūq. Our Lord the Governor-General, Naurūz, carried it out.*<sup>2</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wulzinger und Watzinger, *Damascus, eine islamische Stadt*, pp. 11, fig. 1 B, 155 f., with portions of the text published by Littmann, pl. 3 d (eastern wing).

<sup>1</sup> *Najūm*, VI, p. 442, l. 17: 28th Rabī' II.

<sup>2</sup> The consonants admit of only one reading, viz. نَاصِرُهُ, instead of the usual نَاصِرُهُ which would read better.

## 2. CITADEL, Damascus.

Inscription over the entrance gate to the middle tower of the North wall.

The historical portion of it runs as follows:

. . . عمر هذه القلعة المنصورة مولانا ○ ملك الأمراء نوروز الحافظي أعز الله

تعالى أنصاره في شهور سنة تسع وثمان مائة

. . . *Built this victorious fortress our Lord, the Governor-General, Naurūz al-Ḥāfiẓī, may God the Exalted make his victories glorious, during the months of the year 809 (1406/7).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, l.c., No. 17, p. 20 f.

Mentioned: Wulzinger und Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, p. 181.

## 3. CITADEL, Damascus.

Another shield is visible on the same wall, to the west of the above-mentioned tower.

The badly damaged inscription contains traces of Naurūz' name and his appellative *al-Ḥāfiẓī*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

QAJMĀS<sup>1</sup> AL-ISḤĀQĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Qajmās al-Ishāqī, originally a mamluk of Jaqmaq, became Aghā of Qāyt-bāy, in Jumādā II 875 (began 25th November 1470) appointed Junior Treasurer (*khāẓindār*), in Rajab of the same year Governor of Alexandria, in Jumādā I 880 (September 1475) appointed Grand Marshal, in 885 appointed Viceroy of Syria for a second time. Died in Damascus the 2nd Shawwāl 892 (21st September 1487).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

## 1. MOSQUE, Darb al-Aḥmar, Cairo.

Blazon engraved on knots of grating.

DATE: Between 885 and Muḥarram 886.

<sup>1</sup> Spelt قجماس and قجماس.

<sup>2</sup> *Dau'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. Warn. 369 a, p. 384); Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 124, l. 18, 125, l. 4, 159, l. 3 b. 173, ll. 1, 4 b, 180, ll. 18 ff., 182, l. 18, 185, l. 21, 201, l. 15, 203, l. 19, 245, l. ult.-246, l. 2; Ibn Ṭūlūn, pp. 82 [-], ll. 24, 26, 80 [o], ll. 17, 22, 24, 79 [i], l. 27 ff.; Weil, V, 343; CR. Exerc. 1892, fasc. 9 (2nd ed.), p. 86 (quoting 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak's *al-Khiṭaṭ at-Taufīqiyya*); CIA. Égypte, I, 513.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Herz, *Catalogue* (Engl. ed.), p. 194.

2. LANTERN, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 242. Pl. LXIII.

Six shields; the essential portion of the inscription runs as follows:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى . . . السيفى قجماس أمير آخور كبير  
الملكى الأشرفى

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Qajmās, Grand Marshal of al-Malik al-Asbraf.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 493, p. 674; Herz, *Catalogue*, p. 193 f., where the beginning and the end of the inscription are given.

## QĀNĪBĀY

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH tinned over, in the collection of M. Ant. E. Benachi, Athens.

One shield in the centre of the dish, the main inscription round it.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى المولوى المخدمى السيفى قانيباى مولانا  
ملك الأمراء عزّ نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Qānībāy, our Lord the Governor-General, may his victory be glorious.*

On the back an inscription giving the name of one of the later possessors of the dish:

برسم المقرّ الأشرف السيفى آقباى ملك الأمراء بالشرقية

*For His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Āqbāy, Governor-General of the Sharqiyya (-district in Egypt).*

DATE: The *terminus ad quem* of the dish is 888 A.H., Āqbāy having been transferred in Dhu-l-Qa'da of that year (December 1483) from Sharqiyya to Gaza.<sup>1</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### QĀNĪBĀY (?) AL-BAWWĀB

BLAZON: On upper field a *napkīn*, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.

FLAT DISH, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, formerly in the possession of Artin Pasha.

In the centre of the dish a shield with a much obliterated inscription round it.

On the back inscription intersected by three shields.

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی المولوی ○ الأمیری الکبیری المخدمی السیفی ○  
قانبای البواب من طبقة رفوف عز أنصاره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Qānibāy (?), the Doorkeeper, of the Raḡraf-Barracks, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### QĀNĪBĀY AL-JARKASĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Qānibāy, originally a mamluk of Yashbak ash-Sha'bānī, who presented him to Jarkas al-Qāsimī al-Muṣārī, some time after the death of his master became a sultanian mamluk and a page (*ḡhāṣṣakī*) either under al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh or under his son Aḥmad, the 27th Dhu-l-Hijja 841 (21st June 1438) dubbed Amir of Ten, later became Chief of a Corps of Mamluks (*ra's nauba*), in 842 (1438), after Jaqmaq's accession to the throne, appointed Superintendent of the Cellar (*shādd ash-sharābḡhānā*), on the 10th Rajab 844 (5th December

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, p. 220, l. 12 b.

<sup>2</sup> *Nuṣūṣ*, cf. Index, especially VII, pp. 8, l. 9, 38, l. 7, 115, l. 18, 126, l. 17, 144, l. 2, 167, l. 18, 249, l. 18, 250, l. 7, 417, l. 4, 424, l. 20, 568, l. 15, 657, l. 14, 687, l. 9, 770 f.; *Manḡal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 6v-7r); Sakhāwī, *Tibḡr*, pp. 122, l. 10, 256, l. 7 b; *Daw'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 a, Warn. p. 368 f.); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially II, pp. 29, l. 7 b, 35, l. 7 b, 40, ll. 9, 6 b; Weil, V. 253, 260; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 382; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 99.



1440) made Amir of Forty and on the 13th Jumādā II 846 (19th October 1442) Amir of a Hundred, the 3rd Sha'bān 849 (4th November 1445) appointed Grand Dawādār, the 23rd Šafar 853 (17th April 1449) Grand Marshal. On al-Malik al-Ashraf Aynāl's accession to the throne imprisoned in Alexandria, released by al-Malik az-Zāhir Khushqadam, died in Damietta the 14th Rabī' II 866 (16th January 1462) as an octogenarian. Built a monastery (*ṣāwīya*), a mosque, and a mausoleum in Cairo.

BLAZON: *On red upper field a blue scimitar, on golden middle field a white pen-box, on green lower field a red cup placed between a white 'pair of trousers' with golden openings.*

# 1. MOSQUE, Cairo.

A fragment of a badly damaged inscription painted on the cornices of the ceiling, intersected by shields, now in the National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3387.

Name, title, and date as seen by van Berchem before the restoration of the Mosque.

... السيفى قانباى الجركسى أمير آخور الملكى الظاهرى . . . وذلك بتاريخ

سنة خمس وأربعين وثمانمائة

... *Saif ad-dīn Qānibāy al-Jarkasī, Marshal of al-Malik az-Zāhir . . . and this on the date of the year 845 (1441/2).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I, 381-3, fig.

Mentioned: Herz, *Catalogue* (Engl. ed.), p. 309, n. 1.; *Deux lampes*, p. 184; CR. Exerc. 1909, fasc. 26, p. 62, Exerc. 1911, fasc. 28, p. 51 f.; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 129 f.

# 2. GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 332.

Three shields intersecting the qur'ānic inscription on the neck (xxiv. 35) and three others on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on the upper part of the body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى السيفى قانى باى الجركسى نضام الملك

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Qānibāy al-Jarkasī, Regent of the Kingdom.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Trois différentes armoiries*, pp. 70 ff., fig. 2; *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 488, p. 670 f.; Herz, *Catalogue* (Engl. ed.), p. 308 f.; Wiet, *Lampes*, pp. 97 ff., pl. LXXXIX.

Reproduced: Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 348, fig. 91; P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 10, fig. 15; Devonshire, *Sultan Salāh ed-Dīn's Writing-Box*, p. 243, fig. D.

Mentioned: Artin, *Six lampes*, p. 130; van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 57, 76, n. 1; Herz, *Deux lampes*, p. 184; Schmoranz, p. 71; Lamm, p. 482, No. 227.

## QĀNṢŪH

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH, tinned over. Collection M. François Marcopoli, Consul of Portugal, Aleppo.

Blazon in the centre, a much obliterated inscription round it.

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف العالي قانصوه بهرامى أمير آخور عز أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, Qānṣūh Bahrāmī (?), the Marshal, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## QĀNṢŪH AL-GHAURĪ<sup>1</sup>

Al-Malik al-Ashraf S. Qānṣūh min Baybirdī al-Ghaurī served as page (*ḵbāṣṣakī*), then as *jamdār*; in Dhu-l-Qa'da 886 (began 22nd December 1481) appointed Governor of the Southern District of Egypt (*ḵāshif al-wajb al-qiblī*); in Rabī' II 889 (May 1484) dubbed Amir of Ten; in 894 (1489) appointed Grand Chamberlain of Aleppo; in 903 (1497) promoted to the rank of a Commander of a Thousand; in Sha'bān 905 (March 1500) appointed Chief of the Corps of the Mamluks (*ra's naubat an-nuwwāb*); in 906 (1500), under Jānbalāt, became Grand Dawādār, Majordomo, Vizier, and *ḵāshif al-ḵushshāf*; shortly afterwards dismissed from office, but reinstated by Tūmānbāy. On the 1st Shawwāl 906 (20th April 1501) proclaimed sultan, acceded to the throne

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, especially II, pp. 211, l. 11 b, 222, l. 10, 259, l. 9 b, 366, l. 3, 379, l. 5 b, 380, l. 18, 390, l. 19, III, p. 58; Ibn Ṭulūn, p. 62 (rr), ll. 24 ff.; Weil, V. 382, 383, 385 f., 414; Muir, *The Mameluke Slave Dynasty*, pp. 187, 199; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, pp. 349, 354; Sobernheim, *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. Kānṣūh (Engl. ed. II, p. 720 f.), with full literature; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām an-nubalā'*, III. 99, 106, V. 390-5.

as al-Malik al-Ashraf. Met his death on the battle-field of Marj Dābiq, the 25th Rajab 922 (24th August 1516).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER BOWL on foot, tinned over, in possession of the present writer.

Inscription intersected by two shields:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالی المولوی المخدمی السیفی قانصوده  
الغوری أميرة! حاجب الحجاب بحلب المحروسة عزّ انتصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī, Amir Grand Chamberlain in Aleppo, the protected, may his victories be glorious.*

DATE: 894-903 (1489-97).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### QĀNṢŪH AL-MUḤAMMADĪ<sup>1</sup>

Probably identical with S. Qānṣūh al-Muḥammadī, a page (*ḵbāṣṣakī*) of al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy; dubbed amir by al-Malik al-Manṣūr; under Khush-qadam sent to Damascus. Died during an expedition against Siwār in Ṣafar 872 (September 1467).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on both the middle and lower fields a cup.*

COPPER VESSEL,<sup>2</sup> present owner unknown.

Inscription:

عمل برسم الجنب العالی المولوی الأشرفی<sup>3</sup> المخدمی السیفی قانصوده المحمدی  
عزّ نصره

<sup>1</sup> *Dau'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 a. Warn., p. 371).

<sup>2</sup> Rogers described it as a 'coffret en cuivre', by which he probably meant a lunch-box (*maṭbaqiyya*) made of copper tinned over.

<sup>3</sup> This word being either misread or inserted by Rogers out of its proper place, it was put between asterisks in the translation.

[*This is one of the objects*] made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord,\* (officer) of (al-Malik) al-Asbraf,\* the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Qānṣūh al-Muḥammadī, may his victory be glorious.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 8, p. 116, fig. 28.

Reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 10, fig. 10.

Mentioned: *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 475, n.

### QĀNṢŪH AL-YAḤYĀWĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Qānṣūh al-Yaḥyāwī, originally a mamluk of Jaqmaq; appointed in turn Governor of Alexandria, Safad, Tripoli in 873 (1468), and Aleppo in Rabī' II 874 (began 8th October 1469); in 884 (1479) Viceroy of Syria; in 885 (1480) taken prisoner by Ya'qūb Beg b. Ḥasan; on his return in Rajab 886 (began 26th August 1481) exiled to Jerusalem, where in 888 (1483) he renewed the water-supply from 'Ain al-'Arrūb; in 892 (1487) for a second time appointed Viceroy of Syria; died in Damascus as Viceroy in 902 (1497).

BLAZON: *On the upper field a napkin, on the middle field a cup between a pen-box placed vertically and a horn (?), on the lower field a cup.*

1. PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Aleppo, Sāḥat Bizzeh.

Three shields.

Inscription<sup>2</sup> at the rear wall of the fountain.

(I) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . وَهُوَ الَّذِي يُنَزِّلُ الْغَيْثَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا قَنَطُوا وَيَنْشُرُ رَحْمَتَهُ وَهُوَ

الْوَلِيُّ الْحَمِيدُ

<sup>1</sup> *Nuḥūm*, VII, pp. 703, l. 15, 841, l. 1, 849, l. 19, 850, l. 2; *Ḍaw'* s.v. (MS. Leyden. Cod. 369 a. Warn., p. 371); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially II, p. 322, l. 14 b; Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalil*, pp. 413, 661/2 (Sauvairé, pp. 197, 293); Ibn Ṭūlūn, p. 83 (r), l. 26, 82 (r), l. 16, 81 (r), ll. 9, 11 b, 79 (r), l. 12 b, 72 (r), ll. 15, 19; Weil, V. 342, 343, 367; Sobernheim, *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription was hitherto illegible, several words having been mutilated and the whole slab covered over with at least three coatings of whitewash and oil-paint, on top of which somebody had painted what he believed to be the original text, an effort that rendered decipherment practically impossible. Thanks to the good offices of the French Commandant of Police at Aleppo, I was afforded an opportunity of at least partially clearing the inscription, as the result of which I submit the above reading.

(2) أمر بإنشاء [هذا السبيل] المبارك المقر العالى المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى

العضى الذخرى [1 word] السيفى قانصوه اليحاوى

(3) [3-4 words] كافل الملكة الحلبية المحروسة أعز الله أنصاره وذلك فى

عاشر محرم سنة ثلاث وثمانين وثمانمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. It is He who sendeth down the rain after men have despaired thereof, and spendeth abroad His mercy, and He is the patron firstly to be praised (Qur'ān, XLII. 27). Ordered to build this blessed fountain His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Supporter, the Treasure, [1 word] Saif ad-dīn Qānṣūh al-Yahyāwī [3-4 words] the Viceroy of the protected province of Aleppo, may God make his victories glorious. This was done the 10th Muḥarram 883 (13th April 1478).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon mentioned and reproduced: Creswell, *Two Khāns at Khān Tūmān*, p. 137, pl. XXVII A.

2. PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Damascus, 26 Rue Camahin.

Inscription at the back wall of the fountain:

(1) فى خامس عشرين ربيع الآخر سنة أربعة (!) و تسعمائة أحسن الله على

[2 words not clear]

(2) آمين يا رب العالمين صلى الله على ○ سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

(3) العالى المولوى الأميرى السيفى أذمر نقيب القلعة المنصورة بالشأم المحروس

اعز الله أنصاره وتقبل منه بتربة المرحوم أستاذه المقر الأشرف السيفى قانصوه

اليحاوى الكاف[لى]

*On the 25th Rabī' II 904 (10th December 1498), may God bestow his gifts upon... Amen. O Lord of the Worlds! May God bless our Lord Muḥammad and his family and his companions and give them peace.*

... [His] High [Excellency], our Lord, the Amir, Saif ad-dīn Uzdamur,<sup>1</sup> Commandant of the victorious fortress in the protected Damascus. May God make his victories glorious and accept this offering in the mausoleum of his late master, His Most Noble Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Qānṣūh al-Yaḥyāwī, the Viceroy. . . .

I presume that behind the back wall of the fountain there was the mausoleum of Qānṣūh which I could not examine at the time of my last visit to Damascus. The fragmentary text of lines 1 and 2 containing Qānṣūh's blazon and a date—two years after his death—but no name, obviously belongs to line 3 (the beginning and end of which are both covered by the comparatively modern side-walls of the fountain) although the relation between the two is not clear. It is quite possible that the upper one is not in situ.

S. Uzdamur is probably identical with Uzdamur *al-mushidd*, Commandant of the fortress of Damascus in 902 (1496/7), who may have remained in office till 906.<sup>2</sup> What he did in or for the mausoleum of Qānṣūh is not clear, except that he did not establish any endowment in its favour, as in that case the Arabic text would have had *على تربة* instead of the present *بتربة*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon reproduced with inaccurate description in Artin, *Contribution*, No. 99 *bis*, p. 123.

3. COPPER BOWL, tinned over, in possession of Professor C. H. Becker, Berlin, late Minister of Education of the State of Prussia.

Two shields, two texts without historical interest, viz.:

(1) الصبر عبادة ا                      (2) الخير عبادة لم

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

4. FAÇADE of a ruined house, Aleppo, Rue Djoub Esadallah, opposite the Dār Shībānī. Pl. LXVI. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Although blazons 3 and 4 are anonymous, I venture to class them here because of the peculiar combination of emblems unknown from other blazons.

A plate, with blazon and inscription, of which M. J. Sauvaget has kindly sent me a sketch and a copy, is deserving of special mention.

BLAZON: *A pen-box on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

<sup>1</sup> In vocalizing the name ازدمر I am guided by Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 167<sup>v</sup>). Cf. L. A. Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gazā III*, p. 223 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, p. 26(59).

The inscription reads as follows:

مما عمل برسم المفضل الكبير (٤١) العلي المولوي الكبير (٤١) سيف الدولة (٤١)  
 كافل الملك الحبيب عن أضراره (٤١)

*This is one of the objects made for His Great<sup>1</sup> and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great (Amir),<sup>2</sup> Saif ad-dīn Qānṣūh al-Yahyāwī, Viceroy of the province of Aleppo, may his victories be glorious.*

A glance at the facsimile shows that there are corrections just in the portions containing the name, suggestive of this object having been made for a governor of Aleppo, probably a century before Qānṣūh was dubbed amir. When it passed into the latter's possession, the name of the original owner was obliterated and Qānṣūh's engraved in its place.

### QARĀSUNQUR<sup>3</sup>

Sh. Qarāsunqur al-Jarkasī al-Manṣūrī, bought by Qalāūn, before the latter became Sultan; first made a page and polo-master, then Governor of Hama; in 681<sup>4</sup> appointed Governor of Aleppo; remained in office till al-Malik al-Ashraf's accession to the throne; recalled to Egypt as *amīr jandār*; under Lājīn, Viceroy of Egypt till replaced by Mankūtamur in Dhu-l-Qa'da 696 (began 21st August 1297); Governor of Ṣubaiba under Muḥammad b. Qalāūn; in 698 appointed Governor of Hama; in 699 transferred to Aleppo as Governor; on Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's third accession to the throne, appointed Viceroy of Syria; entered Damascus in Dhu-l-Qa'da 709 (April 1310); remained in

<sup>1</sup> الكبر was perhaps intended for الكريم 'Honourable'.

<sup>2</sup> الأمري being omitted, due, perhaps, to carelessness on the part of the engraver.

<sup>3</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* esp. pp. 43, l. 12, 80, l. 15, 82, l. 1, 96, l. 17, 108, l. 11, 129, l. 1, 130, l. 15, 131, l. 19, 133, l. 21, 134, l. 17, 145, l. 21, 151, ll. 4, 14, 154, l. 10, 155, l. 1, 157, ll. 4, 9, 180, l. 1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I. 167-72; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 269, 293, 296, 298, 313, 317; *SM.* II a, pp. 53, 62, 110, 139, 141, 143, II b, pp. 42, 50 f., 127, 133, 139 n. 10, 169, 281; *Khiṭaṭ*, II. 388-90 (2nd ed., IV. 232-5); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3044, fo. 38<sup>r</sup> and <sup>v</sup>); *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris. Ar. 2072, fo. 15<sup>r</sup> and <sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 126, l. 5 b, 136, l. 15, 137, l. 3, 152, l. 6, 157, l. 8 b.; Weil, cf. Index, where several details concerning this Qarāsunqur are mentioned under Q. al-Mu'izzī; *CR.* Exerc. 1891, fasc. 7, p. 44; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām*, II. 335-8, 347, 350, 352, 359, 361-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 388, l. 28: in Sha'bān, 682.

office till 711,<sup>1</sup> when he fled to the Tartars. Died in Marāgha 27th Shawwāl 728 (14th September 1328) as a septuagenarian. Built a madrasa and a ribāṭ in Cairo.

1. MADRASA, Cairo. Pl. XXVII. 1, 2.

Shield over one of the windows overlooking the street, and another on a bronze band just beneath the capital of the western column flanking the mihrab.

DATE: 700 (1300-1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, locally known as Qaşṭal Maqāmāt, in a lane leading to the Jāmi' al-Maqām, Aleppo-Firdaus. Pl. XXVII. 3, 4.

Inscription flanked by two shields.

(1) بِسْمِله . . . أمر بإنشاء هذا السبيل المبارك المولى الأمير الكبير المجاهد  
المرباط الخاضع لربه المنان المفتقر الى

(2) عفو الله والرضوان شمس الدنيا والدين قراسنقر الجوكندار المنصوري الناصري  
نائب السلطنة الشريفة بحلب المحروسة اثابه

(3) الله تعالى وضاعف له الحسنات وجعل ذخره الباقيات الصالحات كتب في  
المحرّم سنة ثلاث وسبع مائة من الهجرة النبوية

*In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered to construct this blessed public fountain the Lord, the Great Amir, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers . . . Shams ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn Qarāsunqur, the polo-master, (officer) of (al-Malik) al-Manṣūr and (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir, Governor of the Noble Sultanate in Aleppo, the protected, may God the Exalted give him reward and multiply the good deeds for him and make his treasure the pious deeds that last. Written in Muḥarram of the year 703 (began 15th August 1303) of the Hijra of the Prophet.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> According to Zetterstéen, l.c., and Ibn Taghrībirdī, l.c., he was appointed Governor of Aleppo for a third time, remained in office a short time (فاستمر بها أياماً) and then fled.



QAŞRAUH<sup>1</sup>

S. Qaşrauh b. 'Abdallāh,<sup>2</sup> originally a mamluk of Timrāz az-Zāhirī, passed into the service of Sultan Barqūq; under al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh became Amir of Ten; the 1st Rabī' II 816 (1st July 1413) arrested and imprisoned in Alexandria; released the 7th Ramaḍān 821 (8th October 1418); the 3rd Ramaḍān 824 (1st September 1421) became Chief of the Corps of Mamluks and Amir of a Hundred; the 13th Dhu-l-Hijja 824 (9th December 1421); appointed Grand Marshal; on the 26th<sup>3</sup> Şafar 826 (8th February 1423) appointed Governor of Tripoli; in 830 (1426/7) transferred to Aleppo as Governor; the 29th Rajab 837 (12th March 1434) appointed Viceroy of Syria, a post he held till his death, 3rd Rabī' II 839 (26th October 1435). Built a dome over the shrine of 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī, near Aleppo.

BLAZON: *A napḳin on top, a pen-box in the middle, a cup at the bottom displayed on a napḳin without dividing lines. Round shield.*

PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Aleppo, known as Qaşal Bāb al-Maqām.

Inscription in the niche. On the façade to the left of the onlooker a shield; on the other side of the façade there was probably originally another shield, hidden to-day by a mean shop.

(1) أنشأ هذا السبيل المبارك في أيام مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف برسبای

خلد الله ملكه وأدام اقتداره

(2) في كفالة المقر الأشرف قصره كافل الملكة الحليّة المحروسة اعز الله

أنصاره المقر السيفي باك الأشرفي نائب القلعة

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, VI, especially pp. 327, l. 5, 388, l. 1, 493, l. 18, 504, l. 6, 512, l. 1, 521, l. 21, 532, l. 5, 563, l. 16, 596, l. 16, 597, l. 20, 620, l. 12, 714, l. 22, 735, l. 19, 738, l. 17, 796, l. 21, 809, l. 1, 839, l. 16, 840, l. 10; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 23<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>); *Daw'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 a. Warn. p. 393); Ibn Iyās, II, p. 16, l. 20, p. 18, l. 6 b; Sobernheim, *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, pp. 63 ff.; Weil, V. 165 f., 187, 192, 203; Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *A'lām*, III. 23 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās calls him Q. b. 'Uthmān.

<sup>3</sup> *Nujūm*, VI, p. 563, l. 20: on the 12th Şafar.

(3) المنصورة بحلب المحروسة أعزّ الله أنصاره في العشر الأوّل من شهر ذو

القعدة سنة أحد وثلاثين وثمان مائة

*Constructed this blessed public fountain in the days of our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy, may God make his reign eternal and make his power last, under the viceroyalty of His Most Noble Excellency, Qaşrauh, Viceroy of the protected province of Aleppo, may God make his victories glorious, His Excellency Saif ad-dīn Bāk al-Ashrafī,<sup>1</sup> Governor of the victorious fortress of Aleppo, the protected, may God make his victories glorious; in the first ten days of the month Dhu-l-Qa'da of the year 831 (12th–21st August 1428).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### QAUŞŪN<sup>2 3</sup>

S. Qauşūn came to Egypt as a merchant in 720 (began 12th February 1320), became cupbearer of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, attained within a short time to the grade of Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand. Married in 727 the Sultan's daughter. After Muḥammad's death became Commander-in-Chief (*atābak*) during the short reign of al-Malik al-Manşūr Abū Bakr and *atābak* and Viceroy of his successor al-Malik al-Ashraf Kujuk. Arrested in 742 (1341/2); remained in prison until strangled by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn in Shawwāl (or in Dhu-l-Qa'da) 742 (March–April 1342).

BLAZON: *Upper field self-coloured, on united golden middle and lower fields a red cup.*

1. GLASS LAMP. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Originally collection Mannheim, then J. Pierpont Morgan.

Inscription on neck, intersected by two shields: First words of Qur'ān, XXX. 35.

Inscription on body:

<sup>1</sup> S. Bāk, a mamluk of amir Ṭatar, became Chief of a Corps of Mamluks, the 11th Sha'bān 824 (11th August 1421); appointed Governor of the fortress of Aleppo; died there after the year 833. *Nujūm*, VI, p. 503, l. 12; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 50<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 191, l. 1, 201, l. 2, 203, l. 2 ff., 217, l. 12, 226, ll. 10, 16, 227, l. 20. Şafadī, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 114<sup>v</sup>–115<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 375 f.; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 72–3, 307 (2nd ed., III, 116–18, IV, 104 f.); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3044, fo. 40<sup>r</sup> and <sup>v</sup>); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 36<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, 167 f., 176–9; Weil, IV, 369–70, 415–17, 420, 422–4, 428, 431, 432, 434, 441.

<sup>3</sup> Spelling indicated by vowel-signs in *A'yān*, s.v. (l.c., fos. 26<sup>r</sup>, l. 10 b, 22<sup>v</sup>, l. 6 b, 114<sup>v</sup>).

مما عمل برسم المقرّ | العالى المولى | المالكى | المخدومى السيفى | قوصون  
الساقى | الملكى الناصرى

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Qauṣūn, the cup-bearer of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

DATE: Having been made for Qauṣūn's mosque in Cairo, this lamp should be dated 730 (1329).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmoranz, pp. 66–7, 69, figs. 66–8, pl. XXXIV; Artin, *Quatre lampes*, pp. 81 ff., pl. IV, where قوصون is spelt with a *sīn* and الملكى with an additional *alif*.

Mentioned and reproduced: Molinier, *Collection Mannheim*, p. 39 and fig.; Dimand, *Handbook*, p. 196, fig. 120.

Mentioned: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 289, n. 4; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 159, No. 26.

2. GLASS LAMP. Originally collection Gérôme, present owner unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 179, n. 2.

Mentioned: Schmoranz, p. 69; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 159, No. 27; Lamm, p. 438, No. 41.

3. CARAVANSERAI (*wakālah*), Cairo.

Two shields in the upper angles of the frame in which the doorway is set.

Inscription to the right and left of the entrance:

... انشأ هذا الخان المبارك المقرّ الأشرف العالى . . . قوصون الساقى الملكى  
الناصرى . . .

*... Constructed this blessed caravanserai His Most Noble and High Excellency . . . Qauṣūn the cup-bearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 180 f. without mentioning the blazon.

Mentioned: *CR. Exerc.* 1901, fasc. 18, p. 88; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 97.

4. FOUNDATION TEXT of a cistern used as tombstone at Qalansuweh (Map of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Sheet XI, J.n.). Pl. XXXV. 3.

Three shields in the fourth line of the inscription.

Inscription not in situ.

- (1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . وَلَنَجْزِيَنَّهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ بِأَحْسَنِ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ
- (2) امر بإنشاء هذا الحوض المبارك السعيد في أيام مولانا السلطان ا<sup>1</sup>
- (3) الملك الناصر العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى المقرّ الأشرف السيفى عون
- (4) ○ الأمة كهف الملة ضوء ○ الدولة قوصون الناصرى ○
- (5) الساقى أعزّ الله تعالى أنصاره وختم بالصالحات أعماله ابتغاء لوجه الله تعالى
- (6) للسبيل لسائر خلق الله والوقف عليه القطعة الأرض غربى الحوض
- (7) (1 word) فى العشر الآخر من ربيع الأول سنة تسع وثلاثين وسبعمائة
- والله (1 word)

*In the name of the most merciful God. And we will give them their reward, according to the utmost merit of their actions (Qur'ān, XVI. 99). Ordered the construction of this blessed and gladdening cistern in the days of our Lord, the Sultan, al-Malik an-Nāṣir, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn, the Support of the Nation, the Refuge of the Religion, the Light of the Government, Qaṣṣūn an-Nāṣirī, the cup-bearer, may God, the Exalted, make his victories glorious, and his last works pious ones, in his desire to please God, the Exalted, as a pious foundation for all creatures of God. Its waqf consists of a plot of land to the west of the cistern. . . . In the last ten days of Rabī' I of the year 737 (28th October–6th November 1336), and God . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 289, n.

## QĀYTBĀY<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on both middle and lower fields a cup.*

COPPER BASIN, in 1888 in the collection Garnier de Heldévire, Cairo, present owner unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Identified by Artin, l.c., with Sultan Qāytbāy. Van Berchem has pointed out, l.c., that this identification is void of foundation.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالى | المولى[و]ى الأمير | illegible | السيفى قايتباى  
عز أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir ... Saif ad-dīn Qāyṭbāy, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Trois différentes armoiries de Kait Bay*, p. 72 f.

Mentioned: van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 76, n. 1.

## QĀZĀN

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on united middle and lower fields a pair of polo-sticks*

COPPER DISH tinned over. Collection R. A. Harari Esq., London. Pl. XXVI. 3.  
Inscription intersected by four shields.

مما عمل برسم الجنب ○ العالى المولى الأ○ميرى السيفى قازان ○ الحمدار  
○ العلائى

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir, Saif ad-dīn Qāzān, the jamdār of 'Alā' ad-dīn.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## QIJLĪS<sup>1 2</sup>

S. Qijlīs an-Nāṣirī, originally a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn and his armour-bearer, charged with various missions such as the transmitting of news, of insignia of appointments, of Sultanian orders, the accompanying of

<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', s.a. 710, ed. Reiske, V, p. 232, l. 6, 238, ll. 7, 12; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 159, l. 4 b, 162, l. 5 b, 163, ll. 1, 7, 9, 167, l. 1, 171 ult., 176, l. 3 b, 182, l. 21; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3044, fo. 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 342; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 12<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 159, l. 7, 161, l. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt by European scholars *Cagliis* (Reiske), *Kahlīs* (Lane-Poole, van Berchem), *Kaltis* (Artin), *Kadjlich* (Migeon). In the printed text of Ibn Iyās فجليش. The proper spelling was first established by Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 159.

princes and princesses, the escorting of prisoners; in Shawwāl 717 (began 7th December 1317) leader of the pilgrimage; appointed *Amīr silāḥ* with the rank of an Amir of Forty not later than 721 (1321). Died the 15th Šafar 731 (28th November 1330).

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields red, on self-coloured middle field black scimitar with white bands.*

GLASS LAMP, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 580—'75.

Inscription on the neck intersected by three shields: Qur'ān, IX. 18, till الصلاة (. . . 'and is constant in prayer').

Inscription on the body:

هذا ما أوقفه | العبد الفقير الى | الله تعالى الرا | جى عفو ربه الكرماء | قجلىس

الملكى | الناصرى

*This is what was made a waqf by the servant yearning for God, the Exalted, hoping for the pardon of his generous Lord, Qijlīs, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāšir.*

On the lower part of the body three more shields.

DATE: This lamp has been dated 700 (1300) by Artin Pasha, ll. cc. *infra*; until some reason is given for such a date, it seems very improbable, because Qijlīs appears for the first time in history in 710 in a very inferior position as *silāḥdār*, who brought the letter-patent to Abu-l-Fidā'. The lamp being suggestive of considerable wealth on the part of its owner, we should prefer to assume that it was made at least 15–20 years later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nesbitt, *Catalogue of the Glass Vessels in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 38 f.; Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, pp. 258, 272.

Blazon described and reproduced: Schmoranz, pp. 12 f., 20, fig. 9; Artin, *Contribution*, No. 133, pp. 130, 237; Rogers, p. 124, No. 21, fig. 41.

Mentioned: Artin, *Quatre lampes*, p. 85, n. 1; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II. 135; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 159 f., No. 28; Lamm, p. 439, No. 42.

### QULUNJAQ<sup>1</sup>

S. Qulunjaq, appointed Amir of a Thousand on Qalāūn's accession to the throne.

<sup>1</sup> SM. I b, p. 171; Ibn Iyās, I, p. 115, l. 3 فلجى, Sobernheim, *Arabische Gefässinschriften von der Ausstellung islamischer Kunst in Paris*, p. 178.

BLAZON: *White pointed shield.*

BRONZE PLATE, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.

Twenty-four shields, three of which intersect the shorter of the two inscriptions here reproduced:

مما عمل برسم الأمير الاجلّ الكبير المجاهد ٥ لمرباط المثارر المجتبى المرتضى  
المخدوم عضد الملوك ٥ واختيار السلاطين سيف الدين قلنجر الظاهر [ى] السعيدى  
دام عزه ٥

*This is one of the objects made for the Most Magnificent and Great Amir, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Elect, the Chosen, the Well-Served, the Supporter of the Kings and the Chosen of the Sultans, Saif ad-dīn Qulunjaq, (officer) of (al-Malik) aṣ-Ṣāḥib and (al-Malik) as-Saʿīd, may his glory last for ever.*

DATE: Between 663, the year in which Baraka Khān assumed the title al-Malik as-Saʿīd, and Dhu-l-Qaʿda 678 (March 1280), the date of his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, l.c. *infra*, No. 1, pp. 177-9, pl. VI a, inscription without blazon.

Mentioned: Van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 36 and n.; Bertaux, *Musée Jacquemart-André*, No. 978 (6th ed.), p. 136; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.) II, p. 69.

## QUMĀRĪ<sup>1 2</sup>

Probably identical with S. Qumārī, a junior amir during the lifetime of his brother Baktamur as-Sāqī; in 733 (1332) promoted to the rank of an Amir of a Hundred; in 742 (1341/2) appointed Grand Marshal, later Major-domo of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismaʿīl; on the 11th Rabīʿ II 746 (11th August 1345) appointed Governor of Tripoli. Arrested towards the end of Dhu-l-Ḥijja 746 (April 1346); imprisoned in Alexandria; executed early in 747 (1346).

BLAZON: *A pair of polo-sticks on the united middle and lower field of a two-fielded shield.*

<sup>1</sup> *Aʿyān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 114<sup>v</sup>); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2072, fo. 35<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 184, l. 5; Weil, especially IV. 441, 453, 463, 466, n. 1; Sobernheim, *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, p. 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Spelling indicated in words in *Manḥal*, s.v. Mūsā b. Qumārī (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 377<sup>r</sup>).

Two WOODEN PANELS, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3405; in 1880 in the collection de St. Maurice. Pl. XXVI. 2.

Inscription intersected by one shield:

الجناب العالی السیفی قمارى

*His High Excellency (janāb), Saif ad-dīn Qumārī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 23, p. 125, fig. 43 (who read the name as Kumāy).

Mentioned: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 269, n. 4.

## QUSHTUMUR

BLAZON: *Round shield with five bars.*

BRASS DISH, in the collection of R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XLII. 6.

One shield in the centre. Inscription intersected by two heraldic shields and two six-petalled whirling rosettes, marked 1.

○ الجناب العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری ⊕ العالی العاملی العادلی الغازی ○

المجاهد المرباطی المثارى السیفی سیف الدین ⊕ قشتمر شاد الدواوین بالديار

المصريّة عزّ أنصاره ○

*His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Learned, the Governing, the Just, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, Saif ad-dīn Qushtumur, Superintendent of Chanceries in the Kingdom of Egypt, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## QUṬB AD-DAMURDĀSHĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field two cups, on lower field a pen-box.*<sup>1</sup>

COPPER VASE, once in the possession of Mason Bey, present owner unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the blazon should be described as showing *on upper field a pen-box, on middle field two cups, on lower field a napkin*. Artin Pasha did not recognize the two cups ('un ornement que je ne puis déterminer'), moreover, he may have held the vase upside down when describing the shield, as he had done in other cases, cf. e.g. No. 105, a shield showing *on upper field a napkin, on middle field a pen-box, on lower field a cup*, having turned the dish upside down, he failed to recognize the cup.



Inscription:

عمل الجنب العالی المولوی المحمدی الأمير الکبیر القطب الدمرداشی دام عزه<sup>1</sup>

... *His High Excellency, our Lord ... the Great Amir Quṭb (ad-dīn) ad-Damurdāshī, may his glory last for ever.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 107, p. 125.

## QUṬLŪ KHĀTŪN

BLAZON: *Polo-sticks on the combined middle and lower fields of a two-fielded shield.*

CENOTAPH in the courtyard of the Zāwiyat as-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, Gaza.

A shield on each of the two pillars flanking the inscription, the essential portion of which runs as follows:

... هذا ضريح الست . . . الشهيدة قطلو خاتون ابنة المقرّ المرحوم بهادر  
الجوکندار . . . وكان وفاتها يوم الاثنين الثاني من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ثلاث  
وثلاثين وسبعمائة

... *This is the tomb of the Lady ... the late Quṭlū Khātūn, daughter of His Excellency, the late Bahādur, the Polo-master<sup>2</sup> ... She passed away Monday, the 2nd Rabī' II of the year 733 (21st December 1332).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza*, I, pp. 76 ff., pl. 3.

## QUṬLŪBUGHĀ

BLAZON: *Upper field probably self-coloured, on middle field pen-box consisting of ink-pot, three small pots, and three reed-holders, on lower field criss-cross pattern.*

BASIN, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XXXIV. 1.

Inscription intersected by three shields on the inside of the rim.

<sup>1</sup> The text is obviously corrupt, the words ممّا . . . برسم being missing at the beginning; المحمدی is probably misread for المحترمی.

<sup>2</sup> Bahādur the Polo-master, an Amir of Forty in Damascus, died in Ṣafar 723, *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Aya Sophia, No. 2970); *Durar*, s.v.

مما عمل برسم الجنا ب العالى المولى الأميرى الكبيرى ○ السيدى المالكى  
 المخدمى السيفى سيف الدين قطلوبغا ○ الدوادر المقر الأشرف السيفى ارغون  
 الإسعردى عز نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Quṭlūbughā, the dawādār of His Most Noble Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Arghūn al-Is'ardī, may his victory be glorious.*

DATE: The *terminus ad quem* for this object is Arghūn's death, some time after 778.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### RAZMAK<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *Two scimitars placed diagonally on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

FOUNDER'S TEXT embedded in the façade of the Mosque, locally known as Jāmi' Ibn 'Uthmān, Gaza. The inscription is probably not *in situ*.

In each of the four corners a shield.

Inscription:

(I) بسمه . . . أنشأ هذه المدرسة المباركة العبد الفقير الى (2) الله تعالى  
 المقر السيفى رزمك الملكى الظاهرى عز نصره بتاريخ شهر شعبان سنة سبع  
 وتسعين وسبعمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. Constructed this blessed school the servant yearning for God the Exalted, His Excellency Saif ad-dīn Razmak, (officer) of al-Malik az-Zāhir, [may God make] his victory [glorious], during the month of Sha'bān of the year 797 (began 22 May 1395).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza*, III. 222.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the spelling of this name, cf. Mayer, l.c., n. 2. In the present case I have chosen the variant Razmak, the *alif* being missing in the above text.

## SALADIN

In his *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 286, Stanley Lane-Poole quotes a passage from the *Itinerary of King Richard I* (Book III, chap. 1) reading as follows: 'Our men could also see Saladin's own pair of lions and those of his brother Saphadin and Takadin the champion of heathendom.'<sup>1</sup> This would mean that the lion was a family emblem as far back as the early Ayyubids. But there is nothing in the Latin text to justify such an assumption. Stubbs's edition, p. 210 f., says: 'Vident quoque *papiliones*<sup>2</sup> ipsius Salahadini, et *tentoria*<sup>2</sup> fratris ipsius Saphahadini et procuratoris Paganismi Techehedini,' i.e. pavilions and tents, not lions. It should be pointed out that the lion on one of Saladin's copper-coins<sup>3</sup> may be of an astrological character but is doubtless not heraldic, and that the eagle in the Citadel of Cairo<sup>4</sup> is of very uncertain date, probably considerably later than the period of Saladin and Qarāqūsh.

## ŞALĀḤ AD-DĪN B. SAMRĪ

BLAZON: *Emblem No. 43 on undivided shield.*

CANDLESTICK, Musée du Louvre, Paris, formerly in the collection Delort de Gléon. Pl. LII. 1.

Inscription flanked by two shields on the socket of the candlestick.

○ مّا عمل برسم الأمير صلاح الدين ابن سمري ○

*This is one of the objects made for the Amir Şalāḥ ad-dīn, son of Samrī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, vol. *Sculpture*, &c., No. 108, p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> l.c., p. 282 n. + explaining it as 'quoted from T. A. Archer's admirable *Crusade of Richard I*.

<sup>2</sup> Italicized by the present writer.

<sup>3</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes*, vol. *Égypte et Syrie*, No. 491 f., p. 188 f., pl. v.

<sup>4</sup> Nützel, *Embleme*, p. 14; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 228, fig. 52.

SALĀR<sup>1</sup>

S. Salār, son of a Master of the Hunt at the Saljūq court, known as the dispatch-rider (*barīdī*), captured by Baybars, bought by Qalāūn, became one of the most important mamluks of the latter, passed first into the service of Khalīl b. Qalāūn, then into that of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, on Lājīn's accession to the throne took the oath from the Egyptian amirs, the 4th Jumādā I 698 (7th February 1299), appointed Viceroy of Egypt, remained in office as such under Baybars al-Jāshnigīr. On Muḥammad's third accession to the throne at his own request appointed Governor of Kerak. Died in prison either in Rabī' II or in Jumādā I 710 (September or October 1310).

BLAZON: *Dark middle field on white three-fielded shield.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The colour of this blazon is indicated in *Nujūm*, s.a. 711. وكان رنك  
 سَلَار أبيض وأسود (MS. Paris, Ar. 1783, fo. 77<sup>v</sup>) quoted by *SM*. II a, p. 15, no. 12; Rogers, p. 98; Casanova, 'L'historien Ibn 'Abd adh-Dhâhir' (in *MMAF*. VI, p. 499); Artin, *Contribution*, p. 135 f.; Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 270; Prinet, *De l'origine orientale des armoiries européennes*, p. 54; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 235.

SHRINE of Shaikh 'Alī Bakkā', Hebron.

Inscription over the entrance door intersected by two shields.<sup>2</sup>

Repeated on the courtyard side of the gate.

The essential portion of the inscription runs as follows:

... امر بإنشاء هذه المأذنة المباركة المقرّ العالی السیفی سیف الدین سَلَار  
 ابن عبد الله الناصری نائب السلطنة المعظمة وكفیل الممالك الشریفة بالديار المصریة  
 والشامیة ... ○ ... كتب بتاريخ مستهلّ رمضان ○ المعظم سنة اثنی وسبعمئة  
 هجریة ...

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, cf. Index, especially pp. 54, l. 5, 81, l. 18, 96, l. 14, 108, l. 3, 130, l. 9, 131, l. 12, 133, l. 14, 134, l. 11, 135, l. 17, 137, l. ult., 146, l. 14, 151, l. 1 f., 153, ll. 11, 16; Šāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, p. 174 f.; *SM*. II b, pp. 41, 126; *Khiṭat*, II. 417 (2nd ed., IV. 277); *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 92<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I. 155; Weil, IV. 207, 221, 223, 281, 302 f.; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 158-60, 226, 653; Jaussen, 'Inscription Arabe du Khân al-Aḥmar à Beisân (Palestine)' (in *BIFAO*. t. XXII, 1922, pp. 101-3).

<sup>2</sup> The colour of the fesse is the colour of the stone of which the building was made, viz. dirty dark red.

... Ordered to construct this blessed minaret His High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Salār b. 'Abdallāh an-Nāṣirī, Viceroy and Governor-General of the noble provinces of Egypt and Syria ... Written the 1st Ramaḍān 702 (19th April 1302).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mayer, *Le Blason de l'Amir Salār*, pp. 58 ff., and pl.

Inscription without blazon: Sauvaire in Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte*, II. 192 ff.; Jaussen, 'Inscriptions arabes de la ville d'Hébron (in BIFAO. t. XXV, 1925, pp. 29 ff., pl. VI).

Reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 237, with wrong description on p. 138.

### SALMĀ, WIFE OF 'ALĪ

A. 'Alī is perhaps the brother of B. Muḥammad, son of the Amir Fakhr ad-dīn 'Isā, the Turcoman, dubbed Amir of Ten by Muḥammad b. Qalāūn.<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *Emblem No. 27 on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

FOUNDATION TEXT of a public fountain, now embedded in the wall of the mausoleum of the Turkumānī-Mosque, Cairo, pl. XL. 4.

The essential portion of the inscription runs as follows:

... هذا السبيل المبارك . . . الحاجة سلماً زوجة الجنب المرحوم [ال]علائي أمير على  
بن التركماني ○ وذلك في شهر ربيع الأول سنة . . . أربعين وسبعمئة من  
الهجرة . . .

[Ordered the construction?] of this blessed public fountain . . . the pilgrim Salmā, wife of His Excellency (janāb), the late 'Alā' Amir ad-dīn 'Alī b. at-Turkumānī. This was done in the month Rabī' I of the year 740 of the Hijra (began 6th September 1339) . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CR. Exerc. 1909, fasc. 26, pp. 62 f.

Blazon reproduced: Rogers, No. 30, fig. 50, p. 131; P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 10, fig. 11.

### SANJAR AL-JĀWLĪ<sup>2</sup>

Al. Sanjar al-Jāwlī, born in 653 (began 10th February 1255) in Āmid as son of an Inspector of Works (*mushidd*), originally a mamluk of amir Jāwul, first

<sup>1</sup> *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 313, l. 25 (2nd ed., IV, p. 113, l. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 140, l. 6, 155, l. 20, 170, l. 3 b, 180, l. 6, 222, l. penult.; *A'yān*, s.v. (MS).

Governor of Shaubak, dubbed amir under Baybars II, in 698 (1299) appointed Major-domo, remained in office till 706, became Superintendent of Chanceries, the 6th Jumādā I 711 (began 20th September 1311) appointed Governor of Gaza, in Dhu-l-Hijja 712 (April 1313) commissioned to make the cadaster in Syria; arrested the 28th Sha'bān 720 (3rd October 1320), released the 9th Dhu-l-Hijja 728 (15th October 1328), lived as amir in Cairo till al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl appointed him Governor of Hama, about three months after that appointment transferred to Gaza as Governor for a second time. Died in Cairo the 9th Ramaḍān 745 (14th January 1345). Constructed many buildings in Gaza, of which he made a town (*maddana Gbaḥḥa wa-maṣṣarahā*), erected the Main Mosque at Hebron (over the tombs of the Patriarchs), built a caravanserai at Qāqūn, another in the village of Ludd, a bridge (*qanāṭir*) in the 'forest' of Arsūf, an aqueduct running from Hebron to Jerusalem, built Salār's caravanserai at Baisan, and a mausoleum for himself in Cairo.

BLAZON: *Identical with the blazon of Salār.*

وكان الجاولى ينتمى الى سلا ر ويحمل رنكه<sup>1</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. c., fo. 50<sup>r</sup>, l. 8).

Two blazons, both on buildings erected by Sanjar, but neither of them accompanied by an historical inscription, should be attributed therefore to amirs who repaired the building in course of time.

(1) The Mamluk GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Jerusalem, known to-day as the *Rauḍat al-Ma'ārif-School*.

BLAZON: *A table (kbānjā) on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

Two shields over the arch of the main hall. Most probably the *kbānjā* originally consisted of a piece of coloured stone or paste.

(2) GOVERNMENT HOUSE (*qaṣr an-niyāba*), Gaza, now used as Police-barracks. Pl. XXXV. 2.

Berlin, fo. 49<sup>v</sup> f.); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 320, 382; *SM*. II b, pp. 127, 133, 203, 262, 266, 284; *Khitāṭ*, II, 398, ll. 9 ff. (2nd ed., IV. 247 f.); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 134<sup>r</sup>, v); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 107<sup>r</sup>, v); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 155, ll. 10 ff., 166, l. 17; Weil, IV. 303; *CL.A.É.* I. pp. 159, 160, 732 f.; de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration*, II, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that in the passage, *Khitāṭ*, II, p. 398, l. 3 b (2nd ed., IV, p. 248, l. 13), وكان ينتمى الى, the last two words stand for وسجل رنكه, the whole chapter, containing a list of buildings erected or renewed by Sanjar, having been copied by Maqrizī, almost verbatim, from Ṣafadī.

BLAZON: *Crescent on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

Two shields flanking an ornamented slab over a window above a side-entrance door, blocked, according to local information, for more than fifty years.

SHA'BĀN<sup>1</sup>

Al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu-l-Mafākhir Sha'bān b. Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, born 754, acceded to the throne Tuesday, the 15th Sha'bān 764 (30th May 1363), died the 5th Dhu-l-Qa'da 778 (16th March 1377).

BLAZON: *Fleur-de-lis on undivided shield.*

COPPER COIN (*fls*), British Museum, London; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.

*Obv.*

اربعة  
بحمالة  
سنة  
  
ضرب  
ستين

*Rev.* Fleur-de-lis between annulets.<sup>2</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, IX, No. 606 q, p. 362, pl. XIX; Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes*, vol. *Égypte et Syrie*, No. 908, p. 375 f.<sup>3</sup>

## SHĀDBAK

Probably identical with S. Shādbak,<sup>4 5</sup> originally a mamluk of Jakam min 'Iwaḍ, passed into the service of Ṭaṭar, on whose accession to the throne he

<sup>1</sup> *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 138<sup>r</sup>, dates missing, space provided for them being left blank); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 147<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 212, ll. 6 b ff., 234, l. 9; Weil, IV, 510 f., 530; Sobernheim in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. (Engl. ed., Fasc. D, p. 239 f.).

<sup>2</sup> The sequence of words varies in each of the three specimens. The text reproduced above is the one visible on the coin in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

<sup>3</sup> There is no proof whatsoever that two other copper coins struck at Tripoli for a certain al-Malik al-Ashraf, were made for Sha'bān. Cf. Lane-Poole, l.c., IV, Nos. 604-6, p. 185, and Lavoix, l.c., Nos. 912-13, pp. 377 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 138<sup>r</sup>, v).

<sup>5</sup> Name explained by Taghribirdī, l.c., last words, as Joy-Prince (امير فرح).

was made a page (*ḵbāṣṣakī*); dubbed amir by Barsbāy in the early days of the latter's reign, became Chief of a Corps of Mamluks, was promoted to the rank of an Amir of Forty; succeeded Aynāl al-'Alā'ī as Governor of Edessa, was recalled some years later to Cairo, where he lived as Amir of Forty, made Amir of a Hundred by Jaqmaq, in 848 or 849 appointed Governor of Hama, dismissed from office, in 850 (began 29th March 1446) lived in Jerusalem without office, in 852 (1448) arrested and confined to the prison of Marqab, released the following year, returned to Jerusalem, where he died the 2nd Rabī' I 854 (15th April 1450).

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a cup charged with a napkin, on lower field a fleur-de-lis.*

COPPER DISH, in the collection of J. Home, Esq., Cairo.

Three very much obliterated shields. Inscription on rim:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری المخدمی  
المجاهدی السیفی شاد بك الملكی الأشرفی عز نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, the Defender of the Faith, Saif ad-dīn Shādbak, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf, may His victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## SHAIKH<sup>1</sup>

S. Shaikh al-Maḥmūdī, in 782 (began 7th April 1380) sold to Barqūq by the slave-merchant Maḥmūdshāh al-Yazdī, became Master of the Robes (*jamdār*), subsequently page (*ḵbāṣṣakī*), finally cup-bearer, after the battle of Shaḡhab made Amir of Ten, then Amir of Forty, under Faraj Amir of a Hundred, in 802 (1399/1400) appointed Governor of Tripoli, remained in office till Dhu-l-Hijja 804 (July 1402) with the exception of some months spent in Mongol captivity; Viceroy of Syria till the end of 807 (June 1405), following upon the Syrian riots in 808 appointed at his own request Governor

<sup>1</sup> Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, p. 57; *Manḡal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 154<sup>v</sup>-168<sup>v</sup>); *Nuṣūṣ*, VI, cf. Index; Ibn Iyās, especially I, pp. 322, l. 4, 324, l. 10, 334, l. 12, 336, l. penult., 337, l. 1, 342, l. 11, 352, l. 15, 355, l. ult., 358, ll. 9, 7 b; II, pp. 2, 3, ll. 1 ff., 8, l. 16; Weil, V. 78, 102 f., 106, 109, 113-30, 150; *CLA. Égypte*, I. p. 341, 345.



of Safad, in 813 (1410/11) after the revolt of Syrian amirs appointed Governor of Aleppo, in 815 (1412) appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Khalif and Sultan al-Musta'in billāh, acceded to the throne Monday, the 1st Sha'bān 815 (6th November 1412), assuming the title al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad. Died Monday, the 9th Muḥarram 824 (14th January 1421).

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on middle field a cup charged with two small cups, on lower field a cup.*

EAST DOOR<sup>1</sup> of the Main Mosque, Damascus, Pl. LIV. 1, 2. Each half<sup>2</sup> consists of four panels, the uppermost showing an inscribed shield giving the name of al-Malik al-Manṣūr,<sup>3</sup> the second one an historical inscription, the third one the blazon described above, the fourth one rosettes and two other blazons showing *a cup on the middle field of a three-felded shield*.<sup>4</sup> Inscription on the left half.

عمل هذا الباب المبارك في أيام مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور عبد العزيز

Continued on the right half:

بالأشارة المقرّ الأشرف العالي المولى شيخ الخالصكى عز نصره

*This blessed door was made in the days of our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-'Azīz, under the direction of His Most Noble and High Excellency, Shaikh al-Khāṣṣakī, may his victory be glorious.*

DATE: 'Abd al-'Azīz occupied the throne between the 26th Rabī' I and 4th Jumādā II 808 (21st September–20th November 1405), the door was made, therefore, in the course of these two months.

<sup>1</sup> The door was destroyed during or shortly after the Great War. Portions of the bronze revetment are now kept in the National Museum, Damascus.

<sup>2</sup> The revetment as seen on the photograph Bonfils, No. 785, has been disfigured by many patches and additions, among the latter being an inscription dated 1222 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> (b) *ixḫ li-mawlānā as-sultān al-malik*; (a) *al-manṣūr*; (c) *'aḫḫa naṣrubu*.

<sup>4</sup> As neither of the heraldic shields intersects the inscription, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the lower one is Shaikh's. On the other hand, the size and position of the shields in such an inconspicuous place as the fourth panel makes it improbable that it represents the blazon of the Viceroy of Syria, under whose supervision the revetment was made. The shields in the fourth panel will, therefore, have to be considered as those of an official in charge of the work, conceivably of the *shādd al-'amā'ir*, who at some time was an Amir of Ten; cf. L. A. Mayer, 'The Inspector of Monuments under the Mamluks', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies of the Hebrew University*, II. 87 ff. (in Hebrew).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Contribution*, Nos. 80 and 81, p. 117 f. (with several mistakes such as *العالم* for *العالي*, *هذه* for *هذا*, *ايبك* for *العزیز*).

Mentioned: Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, p. 156.

Reproduced: Saladin-Migeon, *Manuel*, I, fig. 40, p. 75; II, fig. 194, p. 235.

### SHAIKHŪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Shaikhū al-'Umarī, originally a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, became under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājī one of the prominent amirs and under al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan Chief of a Corps of Mamluks, in 751 (1350) appointed Governor of Tripoli, but prior to assuming the post imprisoned first in Damascus and later in Alexandria, in Rajab 752 (began 24th August 1351) on Ṣāliḥ's accession to the throne released and restored to his former office, subsequently promoted to the rank of *ra's naubat an-nunwāb*; on Ḥasan's second accession in 755 (1354), appointed Commander-in-Chief and Great Amir (the first atābak to be so called), died the 26th Dhu-l-Qa'da (or Dhu-l-Ḥijja) 758 (end of 1357), over 50 years old. Built a monastery (*kḥānqāb*) and a Mosque at aṣ-Ṣalība.

BLAZON: *Upper field red, on a self-coloured or golden middle field a red cup, lower field black.*<sup>2</sup>

1. GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 328, formerly in the collection Linant de Bellefonds, then Rostowitz Bey.

Three shields<sup>3</sup> on neck and three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body:

برسم المقرّ الأ | شرف العالي | المولوى | المخدومى | السيفى | شيخو الناصرى

*For His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Shaikhū, (officer) of (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir.*

<sup>1</sup> *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fos. 51<sup>v</sup>-52<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 404; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 139<sup>r</sup>); *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fos. 153<sup>r</sup>-154<sup>v</sup>); *Khitāṭ*, II. 313 f. (2nd ed., IV. 113-115); Ibn Iyās, especially I, pp. 195, l. 7, 202, l. 20, 203, l. 11, 204, l. 25, 205, l. 9; Weil, IV. 477, 486, 491 f., 498, 500-2; Nesbitt, *Catalogue Collection Slade*, p. 62; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 234, 236, 239, 244, 275, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the descriptions following. Most likely the lower field was originally a very dark blue which turned black. Some authors describe it as being dark green.

<sup>3</sup> Middle field golden.

DATE: Either 750 (1349/50) or 756 (1355), these being the respective dates of the erection of his mosque and khānqāh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, *Blason*, p. 112, No. 2, fig. 22; Artin, *Six lampes*, pp. 143-5, pl. II; *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 475, p. 662 f.; Herz, *Catalogue* (Engl. ed.), pp. 294 f.; Wiet, *Lampes*, pp. 92 f., pl. XXI.

Blazon mentioned and reproduced: Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas*, p. 3, fig. 12; Prinet, *De l'origine orientale*, p. 54; Fox-Davies, *Guide*, p. 13, fig. 10.

Mentioned: Lane-Poole, *Art*, pp. 250, 272; Schmoranz, p. 70; van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 79 f. n.; Artin, *Une lampe armoirée*, pp. 7, 9; *Contribution*, p. 237; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 450, No. 89.

2. GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4257, formerly in the possession of H.H. Prince Yusuf Kamal.

Blazons (except for the middle field which is self-coloured) and text of inscriptions as in No. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 138 f., pl. XX.

Main inscription published (with omissions) in *CR. Exerc.* 1913, p. 133.

Reproduced: Wiet, 'Le Musée Arabe' (in *L'Art Vivant*, 1929, p. 52).

Mentioned and reproduced: Wiet, *Album*, No. 95.

Mentioned: Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 450, No. 84.

3. GLASS LAMP, fragment of neck. National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4465.

DATE: The provenance of this fragment being well established, namely from Shaikhŭ's mosque, and the blazon being identical with other blazons of this amir,<sup>1</sup> it should be dated 750 (1349/50).

Blazon as in No. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 146; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 450, No. 83 a.

4. GLASS LAMP, Stieglitz Museum, Leningrad.

Inscription on neck, intersected by shields: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body (so far as visible on photograph):

... | المخدمى | السيفى شيخو | ...

... the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Shaikhŭ ...

<sup>1</sup> In view of the facts stated above, no serious doubt as to the attribution of this fragment can be entertained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Migeon, *Arts Musulmans*, pl. LIII.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 165, No. 59; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 451, No. 94.

5. GLASS LAMP, British Museum, London, formerly Slade Collection.

Blazons and inscriptions as in No. 1. The inscription on the body contains an additional eulogy الله نصره أعزّ *May God make his victory glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Art*, pp. 258 f., 272; Nesbitt, *Catalogue Collection Slade*, p. 61, No. 333, pl. VIII.

Mentioned: Nesbitt, *Catalogue of Glass Vessels*, p. lxxv; Garnier, *Collection Spitzer*, p. 295; Schmoranz, p. 70; Migeon, *Manuel*, 2nd ed., II. 135; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 165, No. 60. Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 451, No. 92.

6. GLASS LAMP, Metropolitan Museum, New York, formerly collection Moore.

Inscription on the neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35, intersected by three shields (two of which are visible on the photograph).

Inscription on body (so far as visible on photograph):

... | ألا شرف العالی | المولوی | المخدوم | ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, II. 105; Pier, *Saracenic Glass*, p. 189, pl. XXXVII, fig. 2.

Mentioned and reproduced: Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 450, No. 88, pl. 202, No. 4.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 165, No. 61; Dimand, *Handbook*, p. 196.

7. GLASS LAMP, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, formerly collection Dutuit.

Three shields on neck.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالی | المولوی الأميری الکبیری المحترمی  
المخدومی | السیدی السیفی شیخو الناصری عزّ نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great*

*Amir, the Honoured, the Well-Served, the Master Saif ad-dīn Shaikhū, (officer) of (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Une lampe armoirée de l'Émir Scheikhou*, pp. 7 ff., fig. 1.

Reproduced: Migeon, *Les Objets d'Art de la Collection Dutuit*, p. 23.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 166, No. 62; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 449, No. 82 (with full lit.), pl. 192, fig. 7 (sketch).

8. GLASS LAMP, once in the collection Bourgeois, Cologne.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body (so far as visible on photograph):

... | المولى | المخدمى | ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Hirth, *Formenschatz*, 1905, No. 3; Glück and Diez, pp. 428 (fig.), 574; Cohn-Wiener, *Kunstgewerbe des Ostens*, p. 133, fig. 102.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 166, No. 63; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 449 f., No. 83 (with sketch).

9. GLASS LAMP, collection Cook, formerly collection Linant de Bellefonds, then Rostowitz Bey.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Six lampes*, p. 146, pl. II.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 166, No. 64; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 450 f., No. 90.

10. GLASS LAMP, collection Demotte.

Blazons and inscriptions as in No. 2.

Mentioned: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 166, No. 65; <sup>1</sup> Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 450, No. 86.

11. GLASS LAMP, Musée du Louvre, Paris, formerly in the collection S. de Rothschild.

Blazon and inscriptions as in No. 1, except that the middle fields of shields on the neck are golden, and those of the shields on the lower part of the body are self-coloured.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned and reproduced: Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 450, No. 87, pl. 202, No. 2.

<sup>1</sup> There is another lamp of Shaikhū, once in the collection Spitzer, which is most probably identical with one of those preceding, as suggested by Wiet, l.c., p. 166, No. 65 bis.

12. PUBLIC FOUNTAIN (*sabīl*), near the Citadel, Cairo, pl. XXIV. 2.

Above the inscription blazons alternating with cartouches each set in a niche. The historical portion of the inscription runs as follows:

... أمر بإنشاء هذا السبيل المبارك المبرور العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى شيخوا

الملكى الناصرى وكان الفراغ فى شهر ذى القعدة سنة خمس وخمسين وسبعمائة

... Ordered the construction of this blessed public fountain, a pious work, the servant yearning for God, the Exalted, Shaikhū, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir. (The work) was finished in the month of Dhu-l-Qa'da of the year 755 (began 17th November 1354).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CR. Exerc. 1894, p. 115 (without mentioning the blazon); CIA. *Egypte*, I. 229 f., and fig.<sup>1</sup>

Reproduced: CR. Exerc. 1895, fasc. 12, pl. XIV.

Mentioned: Artin, *Une lampe armoirée*, pp. 10-12.

13. KHĀNQĀH, Ṣalība-Quarter, Cairo.

Shields engraved on the grille of one of the windows.

DATE: 756 (1355).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Contribution*, p. 115, No. 60, p. 198, No. 310; *Une lampe armoirée*, p. 11, figs. 2-6.

Artin considered one of these blazons to be a *tamgha*. Needless to say that all these blazons (with the exception of fig. 4) consisting as they do of a cup on an *undivided* field are absolutely identical; fig. 4 shows the usual blazon of Shaikhū, viz. *a cup on the middle field of a three-fielded shield*.

### SHIHĀB AD-DĪN B. FARAJĪ

BLAZON: Upper field creamy, on united creamy middle and lower fields a reddish brown emblem No. 26.

EARTHENWARE BASIN, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3945.

Inscription outside the bowl intersected by three shields:

<sup>1</sup> The little loop or handle on the cup is due to a mistake of van Berchem's draughtsman. It does not exist on the original.

مما عمل برسم الأمير الأجلّ المخدم الأعزّ ○ الأخصّ شهاب الدين ابن  
الجناب العالي المولى ○ الأميري الكبيرى السيفى فرجى ادم عزّه ○

*This is one of the objects made for the Most Magnificent Amir, the Well-Served, the Most Glorious, the Favourite, Shihāb ad-dīn, son of His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Farajī, may (God make) his glory last for ever.*

The same inscription is repeated on the inside of the basin with the exception of the words الأميرى الكبيرى and ادم عزّه omitted and the words المحترمى *the honoured* and الملكى الناصرى *(officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir* added after الأجلّ *the Most Magnificent* and Farajī respectively.

The name of Shihāb ad-dīn probably was Aḥmad, but being unable to identify him, I prefer to list him under his honorific surname.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned and reproduced: Wiet, *Album du Musée Arabe du Caire*, No. 68.

### SĪBĀY B. BUKHT JUKHĀ<sup>1</sup>

S. Sībāy b. Bukht Jukhā, originally a mamluk freed by Qāyṭbāy, in 892 (1486) appointed Governor of Sis, in 894 (1488) made Amir of Ten, in 906 (1500) appointed Governor of Hama,<sup>2</sup> in the same year transferred as Governor to Aleppo; in 906 appointed Grand Marshal. In 910 (1504) refused the post of an Amīr Majlis in Cairo. Subsequently deposed, he rebelled against the sultan, but surrendered in 911 (1505) and became Amīr Silāḥ. In 911 appointed Viceroy of Syria, he kept this post till he was killed in the battle of Marj Dābiq, the 25th Rajab 922 (24th August 1516).

BLAZON: *On upper field napḳin, on middle field cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field cup.*

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 247, l. 9 f., 261, l. 11 b, 391, l. 9; III, pp. 18, l. 1, 40, l. 10, 43, l. 10, 46, ll. 11, 10b, 47, l. 3 b, penult., 51, l. 6 b, 62, l. 4; Ibn Ṭūlūn, pp. 60 [r<sup>e</sup>], ll. 8 b ff., 58 [r<sup>v</sup>], ll. 2, 8, 16, 57 [r<sup>a</sup>], ll. 16, 19, 8 b, penult., 56 [r<sup>a</sup>], ll. 13, penult.; Weil, V. 373, 374, 379, 391, 412-14; Massignon, *Six plats de bronze de style mamelouk*, No. 2, p. 83 [7].

<sup>2</sup> Sībāy, the Governor of Hama, is perhaps for two reasons not identical with our Sībāy: (1) in an inscription at Hama (Max van Berchem, *Inscripciones Oppenheim*, p. 30) dating from the beginning of the tenth century of the Hijra, the Governor is called Sībāy son of 'Abdallāh; (2) Ibn Iyās, II, p. 391, l. 9, spells his name سيناى instead of سيباى, although on the other hand he says in the same sentence that Sībāy was at the time of his promotion Governor of Sis. There was another Sībāy, Governor of Hama, who died in 893; cf. *Ḍaw'*, s.v. Aynāl al-ḥaṣīf; Ibn Ṭūlūn, p. 78 [v], l. 7 b.

COPPER PLATE, tinned over, Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Pl. LXII. 3.

One shield in the centre of the plate, inscription around it:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی السیفی سیبای مولانا ملک الأمراء بالشأم عزّ  
أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Sībāy, our Lord, the Governor-General in Syria, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### SĪBĀY MIN JĀNIBĀY

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER BOWL, tinned over, once in the possession of A. Gamsaragan Bey, Ramleh-Alexandria.

Inscription: <sup>1</sup>

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی ○ المولوی الامیری الکبیری ○ المخدومی السیفی  
سیبای ○ من جانبای الملکی عزّ أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Sībāy min Jānibāy, (officer) of al-Malik (al-Ashraf?), may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ŞIRGHITMISH<sup>2</sup>

S. Şirghitmish, brought to Cairo by Khawājā Ibn aṣ-Ṣawwāf in 737 or 738, sold to Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, at the time of whose death he was in the

<sup>1</sup> From a rubbing obligingly put at my disposal by the owner, and a photograph kindly lent me by Husain Eff. Rashid of the National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 53<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 140<sup>v</sup> f.); *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 404, ll. 8 b ff. (2nd ed., IV. 257 f.); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 174<sup>v</sup>-175<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 196, l. 13, 200, l. 16, 202, l. 4 b, 205-6, 207-8; Weil, IV, especially 502 f.; *CLA. Égypte*, I. 241 f., 768; Artin, *Lampe en verre émaillé portant armoirie*, pp. 162 ff.



corps of *jamdārs*, rose by degrees till in 749 (1348/9) he became Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, in 751 Inspector of Roads and Bridges, in Muḥarram 752 (March 1351) appointed Chief of the Corps of Mamluks; arrested the 20th Ramaḍān 759 (26th August 1358), died in Alexandria in Dhu-l-Ḥijja of the same year.<sup>1</sup>

Built a khanqah and a madrasa in Cairo, a madrasa at Amman, carried out work both at a place for ablutions in Mecca and at the Haram there.

BLAZON: *Upper field self-coloured, on white middle field a red napkin, lower field red.*

1. GLASS LAMP, collection Arakel Pasha Nubar, formerly in the collection Schefer, then in that of Messrs. Stora, Paris, subsequently in that of Boghos Pasha Nubar.

Six shields, three on the neck, and three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body:

المقرّ الكريم | العالی الموالوی المالکی | المخدمی السیفی صرغتمش رأس  
نوبة | الملكى الناصرى

*His Honourable and High Excellency our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Şirghitmish, Chief of a Corps of Mamluks of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 241, n.; Artin, l.c., pp. 159 ff., pl. 1.

Mentioned: Lavoix, *Galerie Orientale du Trocadéro*, p. 780; Migeon, *L'Exposition des Arts Musulmans*, p. 22; *Catalogue de l'Exposition de 1903*, No. 652; *Catalogue de la Collection Schefer*, p. 24, No. 167; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 167, No. 69; Cordier, *La Collection Schefer*, p. 254; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 453, No. 102.

2. LAMP 'EGG', Coptic Museum, Cairo.

Inscription intersected by two shields:

المقرّ الكريم العالی المولوى ○ المالکی المخدمی السیفی صرغتمش ○

*His Honourable and High Excellency, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Şirghitmish.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 167, No. 68.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, I. 208 l. 11, mentions his death among the events of the year 761.

3. LAMP 'EGG', National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3748. Pl. XXXI. 2.

Inscription intersected by two shields:

المقرّ الكريم العالی المولوی ○ المالكی المخدمی السیفی صرغتمش ○

*His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Şirghitmish.*

DATE: Şirghitmish's madrasa, in which this ovoid has been found was built in 757 (1356).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 128, pl. XCII (second row, to the left).

Mentioned: CR. Exerc. 1911, fasc. 28, p. 13, Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 453, No. 104.

4. Another 'EGG' in the same Museum, No. 3749, evidently forming a pair with the preceding one, shows the same blazon, but only a qur'ānic inscription (IX. 18 till الصلاة).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 129, pl. XCII (second row, to the right).

On the strength of an identical blazon and—in the case of No. 5—a similar decoration I should like to mention here two other objects in the same Museum without any historical inscription.

5. GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4054.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 129, pl. XVI.

6. BRASS LANTERN, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, found in the mosque of Şirghitmish.

Shields on each of its seven sides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *Catalogue* (Engl. ed.), p. 101; *Le Musée National*, p. 58 f. and fig.

## SÜDŪN B. JĀNĪBAK<sup>1</sup>

S. Sūdūn b. Jānībak, called al-'Ajamī (= the Persian), originally a mamluk of Qāyṭbāy, in 906 appointed Chief of the Corps of Mamluks, in Rabī' I 908 (began 4th September 1502), appointed Amīr Majlis, in Rabī' II 910 (began

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, p. 380, l. 17; III, pp. 2, l. ult., 25, l. 9 b, 7 b, 52, ll. 6 b ff.; IV (ed. Kahle), pp. 40, l. 19, 213, l. 20, 220, l. 8 (these three passages kindly communicated by the editor); Ibn Ṭūlūn, pp. 60 [20], l. 5 b, 59 [21], l. 4, 58 [22], l. 10, 57 [23], l. 5, 55 [24], l. 6 b, 54 [25], ll. 12 b ff.; Weil, V. 365, 379, 411, 414; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 585 f.; Massignon, *Six plats*, p. 80 [4].

11th September 1504), appointed Viceroy of Syria, returned two months later to Cairo serving again as Amīr Majlis, in Ṣafar 917 (May 1511) appointed Amīr Silāḥ, in Rabī' I 917, Commander-in-Chief, a post he occupied till he met his death on the battlefield of Marj Dābiq, the 24th Rajab 922 (24th August 1516).<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

1. BRONZE DISH, collection Consul Ledoulx, Constantinople.

Inscription round the shield in the centre of the dish:

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی المولوی الأمیری سودون العجمی عین مقدمی  
الأولوف بالديار المصریة

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir Sūdūn al-'Ajamī, Commander designate of a Thousand in the province of Egypt.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Massignon, *Six plats*, No. 1, pp. 79 f. [3 f.].

2. MAUSOLEUM, Cairo.

Heraldic shields intersecting a qur'ānic inscription.

The essential portion of the historical inscription:

امر بإنشاء هذا المكان المبارك . . . المقر الأشرف الکريم العالی المولوی الأمیری  
الکبیری . . . السیفی سودون أمير مجلس بالديار المصریة الملکی الأشرفی

*Ordered the construction of this blessed place . . . His Most Noble and Honourable High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir . . . Saif ad-dīn Sūdūn, Amīr Majlis in the province of Egypt, (officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf.*

DATE: Between 908 (S.'s appointment as *amīr majlis*) and 917 (his promotion to the rank of an *amīr silāḥ*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 397, pp. 584 ff., fig.

Blazon reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 20, p. 10.

<sup>1</sup> According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, p. 54 [31], l. 12 b, Sūdūn died in Rabī' II 921 (began 15th May 1515).

SŪDŪN AL-QAṢRAWĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Sūdūn, originally a mamluk of Qaṣrauh min Timrāz, Viceroy of Syria, passed into the service of the Sultan, became a page, under Aynāl a Junior Dawādār, under Khushqadam dubbed Amir of Ten, in 865 (1461) appointed Governor of the Citadel of Cairo in lieu of Khāirbak al-Qaṣrawī, the 11th Rabi' II 872 (9th November 1467) received the fief of a Commander of a Thousand, in 873 became Chief of the Corps of Mamluks. Died in Aleppo in 873 (1469).

BLAZON: *A composite blazon containing among other emblems a pen-box.*

MOSQUE, Cairo.

Shields on the ceiling of the Mosque.

Inscription on the western entrance door, the essential portion of which runs as follows:

... أنشأ هذا الجامع المبارك . . . عبد الله محمد سودون القصوره نائب القلعة  
الشريفة الملكى الظاهرى . . .

... *Constructed this blessed Mosque . . . 'Abdallāh Muḥammad Sūdūn al-Qaṣrawī, Governor of the Noble Citadel, (officer) of al-Malik az-Zābir . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 288, p. 424, without mentioning the blazon.

Blazon mentioned: Herz, *Deux lampes en verre*, p. 184.

SŪDŪN AL-YASHBAKĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Sūdūn, originally a mamluk of Yashbak al-Jakamī, Governor of several fortresses in Syria, appointed Governor of the fortress of Safad, then Governor of the fortress of Damascus, subsequently Commander of a Thousand in Damascus, leader of the Syrian pilgrimage in 868 (1464), died leaving Medina on his way back to Syria.

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a cup charged with two small cups, on lower field a cup placed between two napkins.*

<sup>1</sup> *Dau'*, s.v.; *Nuḥūm*, VII, p. 831, l. ult.; Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 103, l. 9, 111, l. 6, 115, l. 19; Weil, V. 333 f.; *C.R. Exerc.* 1890, fasc. 7, p. 56 f.; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 425; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Dau'*, s.v.

COPPER PLATE, tinned over. In the collection of M. Eustache de Lorey, Paris.<sup>1</sup>  
Pl. LIX. 4. 5.

Inscription intersected by three shields:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمير' O الأميری الكبيری السیفی سودون  
الیشبکی الأشرفی O نائب القلعة المنصورة بالشام المحروس عزّ أنصاره O

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Sūdīn al-Yashbakī, (officer) of (al-Malik) al-Ashraf, Governor of the victorious fortress of Damascus, the protected, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## SUNQUR AS-SA'DĪ<sup>2</sup>

Sh. Sunqur as-Sa'dī in 708 (1309) Inspector of the Army (*naqīb al-jaish*), in 715 Chief of the Sultanian Mamluks, in 723 (1323) sent to Tripoli. Died there in 728.<sup>3</sup> Built the Madrasa Sa'diyya and a convent (*ribāṭ*) for women in Cairo, a mosque, a mill, and a caravanserai in the village of Naḥrīriyya, Gharbiyya province.

BLAZON: *Emblem No. 41 on undivided shield.*

GLASS LAMP, in the possession of M. Ispenian, Cairo, formerly in the collection Brocard, then Demotte.

Six shields, three on the neck, and three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المدرسة المباركة والقبّة الشريفة الذي أنشأها المقرّ العالی الشمسی  
شمس الدين سنقر السعدی الملكي الناصری عزّ نصره

*This is one of the objects made for the blessed school and the noble dome founded by His High*

<sup>1</sup> This plate, together with other objects in the collection of M. de Lorey, will be fully published by Prof. G. Wiet.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 136, l. 12; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 135 v); *Khīṭaṭ*, I, pp. 226, ll. 24 ff., 250, ll. 5 ff.; II, p. 397, l. 14 (2nd ed., I, pp. 365, ll. 17 ff., 403 m.; IV, p. 245 f.; ed. Wiet, IV, 82 f., 174 f.); *SM*. II b, p. 284; Ibn Iyās, I. 164 b; *CLA. Égypte*, I. 733-5.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn Iyās, l.c., l. 3 b, he died in 727.

*Excellency, Shams ad-dīn Sunqur as-Sa'dī, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 156, No. 15.

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, p. 198, No. 311.

### TAGHRĪBIRMISH

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on both the middle and the lower field a cup.*

MOSQUE and MAUSOLEUM, Tripoli, locally known as al-Madrassa aḡ-Zāhiriyya. One shield at the beginning of the fifth line of the inscription on the lintel of the entrance door. The essential portion runs as follows:

... عَمَّرَ هَذَا الْمَكَانَ الْمُبَارَكَ الْمَقَرَّ السَّيْفِيُّ تَغْرِي بِرْمَشٍ الظَّاهِرِيُّ [ي] ... مَسْجِدًا  
لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى وَتَرْبَةً لِدَفْنٍ وَلَدَيْهِ ... وَذَلِكَ فِي ثَلَاثِ شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُحَرَّمِ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ  
وَتِسْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةً

... His Excellency Saif ad-dīn Taghrībirmish aḡ-Zāhirī built this blessed place, as a mosque for God the Exalted and a mausoleum for his two sons ... this (was done) on the 3rd Muḥarram of the year 799 (7th October 1396).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, No. 52, pp. 122 f., fig. 11.

### TAGHRĪWIRMISH

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH, tinned over, with lid, Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, No. 26 N. 41 a, formerly in the National Museum, Munich. Pl. LXII. 13.

Inscriptions on lid and body of the dish. The fullest historical inscription is on the lid.

مِمَّا عَمِلَ بِرِسْمِ الْمَقَرِّ الْأَشْرَفِ الْكَرِيمِ الْعَالِيِ الْمَوْلَوِي الْأَمِيرِيِّ | الْكَبِيرِيِّ السَّيْدِيِّ

المالكي المخدمى العضدى الذخرى | السيفى تغرى ورمش أمير دوادار الدوادار |  
كبير المقام الشريف عزّ أنصاره وأدام لك السعادة والسلامة

*This is one of the objects for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, the Supporter, the Treasure, Saif ad-dīn Taghrīwirmish, Amīr Dawādār, Grand Dawādār of His Noble Majesty, may his victories be glorious, and may [God] make thy happiness and well-being last for ever.<sup>1</sup>*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### TANAM AL-ASHRAFĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

MOSQUE, Damascus, locally known as the Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣuwafā.<sup>2</sup>

Inscription in one line over the windows, flanked on each side by a shield.

بسمه . . . أنشأ هذا المكان المبارك المقرّ الكريم العالى المولى السيفى تنم  
الأشرفى عين مقدمى الألوف وحاجب ثانى بالشام المحروسة عزّ نصره بتاريخ سنة  
سبعة<sup>1</sup> وتسعين وثمانمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. Constructed this blessed place His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, Saif ad-dīn Tanam al-Ashrafī, Commander designate of a Thousand and Second Chamberlain in the protected Damascus, may his victory be glorious. On the date of the year 897 (began 4th November 1491).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon reproduced and mentioned: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 88, p. 119.

<sup>1</sup> The last words are addressed to the owner of the dish. Such texts, usually beginning with the words *يا أيها المولى*, are by no means rare in Mamluk epigraphy and form a special group among the inscriptions containing pious wishes for the welfare of owners of objects of this kind.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription has been recently transferred to the National Museum, Damascus.

TANBAK<sup>1</sup>

S. Tanbak al-Ḥasanī, called Tanam, a freed mamluk of Barqūq, made a page early in the latter's first sultanate, dubbed amir in 791 (1389), sent to Damascus as an Amir of a Hundred, some time later appointed Commander (*atābak*) at Damascus, in Muḥarram 795 (began 17th November 1392), Viceroy of Syria. Stirred up an unsuccessful revolt, arrested and executed the 4th Ramaḍān 802 (29th April 1400). Built a caravanserai near al-Qaṭīfa and a mausoleum in Damascus.

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on middle field a blue cup, on grey lower field a reddish cup between two reddish napkins.*

MAUSOLEUM, Sūq al-Mīdān, between Nos. 369 and 381, Damascus.

One shield in an ornamented panel above the main door.

Inscription in one line stretching across the whole façade, a portion hidden by a modern building, in 1926 used as a store-room; the inscription ends in this store-room.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . ذَلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ يُؤْتِيهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ أَمْرٌ بِإِشَاءِ هَذِهِ

التربة المؤسسة على التقوى المعدلة المهّدة قدرها بفعل الخير المستصحب في الدنيا  
والآخرة سيّدنا ومولانا المقرّ الأشرف العالي المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى العالى العادلى  
العونى الغياثى المهّدى المشيدى المحسنى المتصدّقى الكافى المخدمى السيفى معزّ  
الإسلام والمسلمين سيّد ملوك الأمراء فى العالمين ركن الغزاة والمجاهدين عون الأئمة  
غياث الملة ناشر العدل ناصر الحق عضد الملوك والسلاطين تنبك الحسنى الظاهرى  
كافل السلطنة الشريفة بالشام المحروس أعزّ الله تعالى أنصاره . . . وكان الفراغ من  
هذه التربة المباركة فى شهور سنة سبع وتسعين وسبعمائة [Sobernheim]

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, especially VI, pp. 3, l. 11, 7, l. ult., 8, l. 1, 35, l. 15, 36, ll. 4, 12, 38, l. 16, 41, l. 3 ff., 143, l. 4, 146, l. 20-147, l. 15; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 161<sup>v</sup>-163<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, especially I, pp. 298, l. 9, 318, l. 18, 319, l. 16, 322, ll. 7 ff., 323, ll. 6, 15, 324, l. 23; Weil, V, pp. 9, n. 2, 73-8.



... Qur'ān, V, end of v. 59 . . . Ordered the construction of this mausoleum . . . His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir . . . Saif ad-dīn . . . Tanbak al-Ḥasanī, (officer) of (al-Malik) aṣ-Ṣābir, Viceroy of Syria, the protected . . . this blessed mausoleum was completed during the months of the year 797 (began 27th October 1394).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon reproduced: Bourgoin, *Précis de l'art arabe* II, p. 11, pl. 29, Rogers, fig. 58.

### TANBUGHĀ<sup>1</sup>

BLAZON: *Cup on undivided shield.*

DISH, once in the possession of Messrs. Stora, Paris, present owner unknown.

[Van Berchem] برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی المخدمی العلاءى طنبغا حاجی الساقی

For His High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-Served, 'Alā' ad-dīn Tanbughā Ḥājī, the cup-bearer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### TĀNĪBAK<sup>2</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a fleur-de-lis.*

COPPER BOWL on foot, in 1910 in the collection of M. H. Marcopoli, Aleppo.

Inscription:

(I) مّا عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالی المولوی الأمیری (2) الكبیری المخدمی

[Herzfeld] السیفی تانی بك أمير دوادار المقام الشريف أعز أنصاره

This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Well-served, Saif ad-dīn Tānībak, Amīr Dawādār of His Majesty, may (God make) his victories glorious.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Not having seen the original, I follow the transcription of van Berchem. The name Tanbughā is more common; a certain Tanbughā Ḥājī was appointed Governor of Gaza in Dhu-l-Ḥijja 736, dismissed from office before the 13th Jumādā I 739 (Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 192, l. 17, 200, l. 5).

<sup>2</sup> The position of this name in biographical dictionaries, such as *al-Manhal aṣ-ṣāfī* and *ad-Durar al-kāmina*, proves that the first consonant is *t* and not *th*.

## TĀNĪBAK AL-KHĀZINDĀR

Either identical with Tānībak *al-khāzindār*,<sup>1</sup> who died in Shawwāl 899 (began 5th July 1494) or with his namesake, also a *khāzindār*,<sup>2</sup> son-in-law of Khāirbak min Aynāl (q.v.), District Officer (*kāshif*) of the Gharbiyya-province, arrested in 905 (1499/1500), in 922 (began 5th February 1516) Commander of a Thousand without office, took part in the expedition against the Ottoman Sultan Selim, executed by the latter together with many other amirs, on Saturday, 5th Rabī' I 923 (28th March 1517).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

1. COPPER DISH, tinned over. Collection F. T. Dallin, Esq., Chieveley, Newbury, Berks. Pl. LXII. 10.

One shield in the centre of the plate. Inscription on the outside:

برسم المقر الأشرف السيفي تاني بك أمير خازندار كبير الملكي الأشرفي

*For His Most Noble Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Tānībak, Grand Amīr Treasurer of al-Malik al-Ashraf.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. COPPER DISH, tinned over. Collection W. A. Stewart, Esq., Jerusalem.

In the centre a shield with inscription round it:

مما عمل برسم الجنا ب العالي المولى تاني بك الخازندار عز أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, Tānībak, the Treasurer, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

TANKIZ<sup>3</sup>

S. Tankiz al-Husāmī an-Nāṣirī, originally a mamluk of Sultan Lājīn, passed after the latter's death into the service of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, became

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, p. 284, ll. 14 b f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, II, p. 371, l. 5 b; III, pp. 3, l. 10, 21, l. 9 b, 25, l. 3 b, 26, l. 16, 29, l. 10 b, 56, l. ult., 106, l. 12, 111, l. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, V, p. 264, l. 9-11, ed. Constantinople, IV, p. 71, ll. 16 f.; Nuwairī, s.a. 708

Amir of Ten before Muḥammad left for Kerak (24th Ramaḍān 708 = 7th March 1309), remained in his service at Kerak, appointed Governor of Damascus in Rabi' II 712 (which began on 6th August 1312), arrested in the last days of 740 (June 1340), died in the prison of Alexandria on Tuesday, 14th<sup>1</sup> Muḥarram 741 (10th July 1340) in his sixties.

BLAZON: *Golden cup on undivided red field.*

1. SHRINE OF NABĪ YAMĪN, Qalqīlieh.

One cup intersecting lines 2 and 3.

Inscription in the annex:

(1) بِسْمِله . . . أمر بتجديد هذا الحـ[وض] الخان [

(2) المبارك المقر الأشرف اـلعالى المولى الأميرى الكبير

(3) ي السيدى العالى العا اـدلى المثاغرى المرابطى الكا

(4) فلى السيفى تنكز نائب السلطنة الشريفة بالشأم المحروس عز نصره

*In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered to renew this blessed tank (or caravanserai) His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Master, the Learned, the Just, the Warden of the Marches, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Viceroy Saif ad-dīn Tankiz, Governor of the Noble Sultanate in Damascus, the protected, may his victory be glorious.*

The inscription continues on the cup itself, but only the first word *bi-ta'rikh* 'on the date of' is legible. The cup is displayed in the centre of the inscription without a shield. This monument does not appear in the list of buildings copied by Ṣafadī<sup>2</sup> from the official inventory of the property of Tankiz made after his imprisonment, perhaps because the repairs were of no consequence and the whole building of little value. In

(MS. Leyden, Cod. 20, fo. 48<sup>v</sup>, l. 7); Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, especially pp. 158, l. 7, 211, l. 4 ff., 212, l. 20; Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 261, l. 10 b, 329 m.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I. 121; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, I. 91-5; Safadī, *Tuhfa*, s.v., *al-Wāfī*, s.v., *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Istanbul, AS. 2970); Ibn Ḥabīb, II, especially pp. 319, 373; Qalqashandī, *Subh*, XII. 16-19 (Letter of Appointment); Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, p. 175; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 54, ll. 20 ff. (2nd ed., III. 87 f.); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 98<sup>v</sup>-100<sup>r</sup>); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 158<sup>v</sup>-161<sup>v</sup>); Muḥir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 387 (Sauvage 142-3); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 171, l. 10-173, l. 5 (biography); Weil, IV, cf. Index; *CIA Égypte*, I. 213 n.; Cheikho in Ṣāliḥ, p. 61, n. 1 (biography with incorrect details); Lammens, *La Syrie*, II. 5 f.; Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, p. 31, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> According to Maqrīzī, l.c., l. penult., and Muḥir ad-dīn he died on the 21st Muḥarram, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī in the middle of the month.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, I. 94 f., where p. 95, l. 8 بـلولة should be corrected into جـلولة; *Manhal*, s.v. Tankiz (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 160<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>v</sup>).

any case, it should not be identified with the 'very fine khan at Jiljūlieh'<sup>1</sup> referred to in the same list, the ruins of the latter being still visible in Jiljūlieh, a village near Qalqīlieh, unless it is assumed—in itself quite likely—that the inscription was brought thither from the khan at Jiljūlieh. This theory is borne out by the last word of the first line of the Arabic text of the inscription which can be read either الحان or الحوض the first being more acceptable on palaeographical grounds, the second on archaeological evidence

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. CARAVANSERAI at Shaqhab (Marj as-Şuffar). Cup without shield, 22 cm. high, engraved on the lintel of the doorway, accompanied by a fragment of an inscription mentioning the name of Tankiz and dated 716 (began 26th March 1316).<sup>2</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

3. MADRASA, locally known as al-Maḥkama ash-Shar'iyya (Muslim Religious Law Court), Jerusalem.

Three shields intersecting an inscription of the length of the façade:

بسمه . . . أنشأ هذا المكان المبارك ○ راجياً ثواب الله وعفوه المقر الكريم ○  
 السيفى تنكز الملكى الناصرى عفا الله ○ عنه وأثابه [وذلك فى شهور] سنة تسع  
 وعشرين وسبعمائة

... Founded this blessed building in the hope of God's reward and forgiveness, His Honourable Excellency Saif ad-dīn Tankiz, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may God forgive him and give him a reward. [This was made during] the year 729 (1328-9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIA. *Jérusalem, Ville*, No. 80, pp. 256 ff.

Blazon mentioned and depicted: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 48, p. 114.<sup>3</sup>

4. MAUSOLEUM, locally known as the 'Turbat ash-Shaikh an-Nahlāwī', Rue el-Nihlaoui, Damascus.

The heraldic shields intersect an unhistorical inscription in stucco in the vestibule leading to the domed chambers. The chalice is taller than on the other blazons of

<sup>1</sup> *Manhal*, l.c., fo. 161<sup>r</sup>, l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly supplied by M. J. Sauvaget, Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulmans, Damas.

<sup>3</sup> 'Une coupe sculptée sur la porte du Mehkeme à Jérusalem sans inscription' (italicized by the present writer).

Tankiz, but it shows the same characteristic ring between the foot and the bowl of the chalice.

Inscription on the lintel of the entrance gate:

(I) بِسْمِهِ . . . أَمْرٌ بِإِنْشَاءِ هَذِهِ التَّرْبَةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ الْمُقَرَّرِ الشَّرِيفِ الْعَالِيِ الْمَوْلَوِي  
الْأَمِيرِي الْكَبِيرِي الْغَازِي الْمَجَاهِدِي (2) الْمَالِكِي الْمَخْدُومِي السَّيْفِي سَيْفِ الدُّنْيَا  
وَالدِّينِ تَنْكَزِ نَائِبِ السُّلْطَنَةِ الْمُعَظَّمَةِ بِالشَّامِ الْحَرُوسِ عَزَّ نَصْرُهُ وَكَانَ الْفَرَاغُ فِي شَهْرِ  
ذِي الْحِجَّةِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

*In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered to construct this blessed mausoleum His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn Tankiz, Governor of the August Sultanate in the protected Syria, may his victory be glorious. It was finished in the month of Dhu-l-Hijja of the year 730 (September 1330).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Littmann in Wulzinger und Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, pp. 71 f.

5. GLASS LAMP, Main Mosque, Hebron, at present exhibited in the Muslim Museum, Jerusalem. Pl. XLI. 4.

Inscription on neck, intersected by three shields:

إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ ○ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَآلْيَوْمِ ○ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ ○

*He only shall visit the temples of God, who believeth in God and the last day, and is constant (at prayer) (Qur'ān, IX. 18).*

Inscription on body:

بِرِسْمِ مَدْرَسَةِ الْمُقَرَّرِ الْعَالِيِ الْمَوْلَوِي الْأَمِيرِي السَّيْفِي تَنْكَزِ كَافِلِ الْمَمَالِكِ الشَّرِيفَةِ  
بِالشَّامِ الْحَرُوسِ

*For the school of His High Excellency, our Lord, the Amir Saif ad-dīn Tankiz, Viceroy of the noble provinces of the protected Damascus.*

DATE: Tankiz carried out some works in the Haram at Hebron during the year 732 (1331/2), such as lining it with slabs of marble,<sup>1</sup> on which occasion he probably donated the lamp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mentioned and reproduced: Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 439, pl. 196.

6. CARAVANSERAI or BATH, locally known as aṭ-Ṭaḥūna<sup>2</sup> (= the Mill), Jerusalem, Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn.

Three heraldic shields, one in the centre of the lintel, two on the corbels flanking the inscription.

بسمه . . . المبارك والسوق<sup>3</sup> والربوع على ظهورهم المقرّ ○ الأشرف السيفى تنكز  
الناصرى كافل [لمالك] الشريفة الشامية أعزّ الله أنصاره ○ في شهور سنة . . .

*In the name of the most merciful God. [About four words obliterated. Probably: Ordered to build this] blessed [khan or bath] and the market-street and the private houses above them, His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Tankiz an-Nāsirī, Viceroy of the noble [provinces] of Syria, may God make his victories glorious. In the months of the year . . .*

DATE: According to van Berchem's very plausible suggestion, this building was erected about the same time as the entrance gate to the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn dated 737 (1336/7).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, No. 81, pp. 262 ff.

Reproduced: *Jerusalem*, ed. Ashbee, I, fig. 57.

Mentioned: Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, I, 127.

7. COPPER BASIN, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 7852.

Sixteen shields, eight inside, eight outside.

Inscription inside the basin:

○ ممّا عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى ○ ○ المولى المالكى العالى ○ ○  
العادلى السيفى تنكز كافل ○ ○ المالك الشريفة بالشام المحروس ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the*

<sup>1</sup> SM. I b, p. 246; Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, pp. 57, l. 5 f., 438, l. 13; van Berchem, 'Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien' (in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XIX, 1896, No. II, p. 111 f.); Vincent et Mackay, *Hébron, Le Haram el-Khalīl*, p. 212 f.; Jaussen, 'Inscriptions Arabes de la Ville d'Hébron' (in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. XXV, No. 7, pp. 10 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish name Khān Otuzbir (cf. *CIA. Jérusalem*, l.c.) is no more in use.

<sup>3</sup> In the list of buildings mentioned above (p. 219, n. 2) this market-street is described as مَسَارِدَة مَلِيحَة الى العاده, *Fawāt*, I, p. 92, l. 10 b.

*Royal, the Learned, the Just, Saif ad-dīn Tankiz, Viceroy of the noble provinces of Syria, the protected.*

The inscription outside the basin is obliterated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

8. MOSQUE, Damascus, since the Great War used as barracks.

'Porte sud de la Mosquée. Peinte sur la voûte (diam. 0 m., 25 env.) [9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>"]. Coupe réservée en blanc sur fond rouge' [Sauvaget].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### TANKIZBUGHĀ<sup>1</sup>

S. Tankizbughā al-Māridīnī, Superintendent of the cellar (*sharabkhāna*) under al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan, became Amir of a Hundred, refused the Viceroyalty of Syria, died as Amir Majlis in Ramaḍān 759<sup>2</sup> (began 7th August 1358).

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields white, on blue middle field a white cup.*

GLASS LAMP, Louvre, Paris. Formerly collection of Count Lair.

Inscription on neck, intersected by three shields:

مما عمل برسم ○ تربة المرحوم ○ المقر الأشرف ○

continued on body:

العالى | المولى | للملكى | المخدمى | لسيفى | تنكزينا أمير | مجلس الملكى

الناصرى

*This is one of the objects made for the mausoleum of His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, the late Saif ad-dīn Tankizbughā, amir majlis of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

On the lower part of the body three more shields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, vol. *Cristaux*, p. 12, pl. 8, fig. 19.

Mentioned: Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.) II, 136; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 173, No. 119; Lamm, *Gläser*, pp. 466 f. (and sketch).

<sup>1</sup> *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3042, fo. 100<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 207, l. 13; Weil, IV. 489; *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 274, nn. 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, l.c., mentions his death among the events of the year 760.

ṬĀNYARAQ<sup>1</sup>

S. Ṭānyaraq al-Yūsufī, originally a mamluk of Yūsuf b. al-Malik an-Nāṣir, in Shawwāl 747 (began 15th January 1347) made Amir of a Hundred by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji (without passing through any of the intermediate grades), Governor of Hama from Monday, 16th Dhu-l-Ḥijja 751 (14th February 1351) until Sha'bān 752 (began 23rd September 1351), then sent to Damascus without any office, for the second time appointed Governor of Hama, entered it towards the end of Ramaḍān 753 (early in November 1352), in 755 dismissed and sent to Damascus, took part in the pilgrimage in the year 756 (1355), imprisoned in 759 (1357/8) in the fortress of Damascus, spent some time without office first in Damascus, then at Safad. By the end of 759 or early in 760 (end of 1358) arrested and put in prison at Alexandria. On al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan's deposition, Ṭānyaraq was freed, loaded with presents and made Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand in Damascus, where he arrived on Friday, the 6th Sha'bān 762 (11th June 1361). Early in Shawwāl 762 (August 1361) appointed Governor of Hama for the third time, remained there until the end of 763 (1361/2), when he was dismissed from office and transferred as Amir to Tripoli. Died there in 764 (1362/3).

BLAZON: *Cup on the lower field of a two-fielded shield.*

AQUEDUCT, Hama, at the crossing of the Zuqāq al-'Āṣī and the Zuqāq ad-Dabbāgha, near an-Nā'ūra al-Muḥammadiyya. Coming from town, on the left side of the left arch of the Aqueduct.

Inscription in two lines on the right hand side of the blazon:

(1) أنشئت هذه الناعورة الكبيرة والمباركة [a few words] (2) في أيام مولانا

المقر الأشرف السيفي طان يرق كافل الملكة المحمية في سلخ سنة ثلاث وستين  
وسبعمئة

*This big and blessed water-wheel was constructed . . . in the days of our Lord, His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Ṭānyaraq, Viceroy of the province of Hama, during the last days of the year 763 (October 1362).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 55<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>r</sup>), s.v. Asandamur (l.c., fo. 27<sup>r</sup>, l. 21), and s.v. Arghūn al-Kāmili (l.c., fo. 24<sup>r</sup>, l. 13); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 142<sup>v</sup>); Weil, IV. 474, 478, 486.



ṬASHTAMUR AL-‘ALĀ’Ī<sup>1</sup>

S. Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī, the dawādār, served for a long time as Grand Dawādār in Egypt, being the first Grand Dawādār with the rank of an Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand, succeeded ‘Alī al-Māridīnī as Viceroy of Egypt in 772 (1370), on 7th Dhu-l-Qa‘da 778 (18th March 1377) transferred to Damascus as Viceroy of Syria, became in 779 Commander-in-Chief. In the course of the same year, on the assumption of power by Z. Baraka and S. Barqūq, was arrested by them and sent first to Damietta<sup>2</sup> and then to Jerusalem, where he died in Sha‘bān 786 (18th September–16th October 1384), more than fifty years of age.

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields dark red, on a yellow middle field a black pen-box.*

1. BOWL of bell brass, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 857–1901

Inscription:

المقرّ الكريم العالی ○ المولوی الأمیری الکبیری ○ السیفی طشتمر أمير  
دوادار ○ الملکی الأشرفی عزّ نصره ○

*His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Ṭashtamur, Grand Dawādār of al-Malik al-Ashraf, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: van Berchem, *Notes*, III. 77 n.

2. MOSQUE of Khushqadam, Cairo. Pl. LXI. 2.

Heraldic shields on the ceilings of the vestibule and corridor.

The essential portion of the inscription of the frieze in the corridor runs as follows:

... أمر بانشاء هذا المكان المبارك ... المقرّ العالی ... الأمير سيف الدين  
طشتمر الدوادار الملکی الأشرفی ...

... Ordered the construction of this blessed place ... His High Excellency ... the Amir Saif ad-dīn Ṭashtamur, the dawādār of al-Malik al-Ashraf ...

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, 441, 453, 459; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 185<sup>v</sup>); Mujīr ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, I, p. 396, l. 3 b; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 227, l. 3, 231, l. 15, 233, l. 5, 235, l. ult., 239, ll. 11 f., 242, ll. 16 ff., 243, ll. 2 ff.; Weil, IV. 528, 532, 534 f.; Creswell, *Chronology*, p. 111; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, pp. 295 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, I, p. 243, l. 5: to Alexandria.

The pen-box has been painted over a white napkin, probably the shield of the first builder of Ṭashtamur's house, which, as is well-known, has been completely restored by Khushqadam al-Aḥmadi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *Mosquée Khochkadam el-Ahmadi, à Darb el-Hosr, au Caire* (CR. Exerc. 1909, App. au 26 fasc., p. 161 f.).

Blazon reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 106, p. 125, with a wrong date and without attribution to Ṭashtamur.

Mentioned: Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 111 f.

Both inscriptions, and consequently the blazons accompanying them, must have been composed under al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, i.e. between 764 and 778 (1363–76). The first can be even more closely dated, namely 764–72, as Ṭashtamur, having been appointed in the latter year Viceroy of Egypt,<sup>1</sup> had ceased to be Grand Dawādār (*amīr dawādār*) since 772. Whether the second text also is to be so dated, or whether it can be attributed to any other year of Shaʿbān's reign, depends on whether *dawādār* in that inscription means Grand Dawādār or whether it refers to the insignificant court-office, probably held by Ṭashtamur at the time of his having been dubbed amir and so often found in texts of amirs in the highest positions. The latter interpretation seems to be the more probable of the two.

## ṬASHTAMUR AL-BADRĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Ṭashtamur al-Badrī, nicknamed Green-Pea (*ḥimmiṣ akḥḍar*) because of his predilection for this vegetable when in the Training School, served originally under Arghūn ad-Dawādār, became cup-bearer of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn. On the 9th Muḥarram 737 (18th August 1336) appointed Governor of Safad, a post he held until in Muḥarram 741,<sup>3</sup> having successfully carried out the arrest of Tankiz, he was transferred to Aleppo as Governor. Under al-Malik an-Nāṣir Aḥmad appointed Viceroy of Egypt, thirty-five days later arrested, imprisoned at Kerak, executed in Muḥarram 743 (began 6th June 1342). Besides his house in Cairo which was erected under the supervision of the

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, I. p. 227, l. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 178, ll. 3 f., 192, l. 3 b, 211, l. 2, 212, l. 12, 213, l. 17; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 374, 376, 378; *Aʿyān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 57<sup>r</sup>–58<sup>v</sup>); Šāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, p. 175; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 143<sup>r</sup>, v); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 184<sup>v</sup>–185<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 164, ll. 16 f., 176, l. 9 b, 178, ll. 7 ff., 179, l. 5 b, l. ult., 180, ll. 8, 10, 17; II, p. 390, ll. 11 ff.; Weil, IV. 388 f., 424, 440, 442, 449, n. 1; van Berchem, *Notes III*, p. 77 n.; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 737.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn Iyās, I, p. 176, l. 9 b, he was confirmed in his office as Grand Dawādār by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr عادتہ علی کبراً، but on p. 178, l. 7, he is called 'Governor of Aleppo'.

Qāḍī Karīm ad-dīn, he built a stable with a magnificent portal, a Mosque and a mausoleum in the 'Desert', and his residence close to it, two bath-houses, a qaisāriyya, a mausoleum (Maghārat Ya'qūb), and a bath at Safad.

BLAZON: *Cup on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

MAUSOLEUM, Cairo.

Inscription flanked by two shields.

○ برسم المقرّ العالی الأمیری السیفی طشتمر الساقی | الناصری ختم الله له بخیر

فی ربیع الأول سنة خمس وثلثین وسبعائة ○

*For His High Excellency, the Amir Saif ad-dīn Tashtamur, the cup-bearer of (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir . . . in the month of Rabī' I of the year 735 (November 1334).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 736 f. (after Mehren, *Cáhirah og Keráfat*, I. 71) without mentioning the blazon.

Reproduced: Devonshire, *L'Égypte Musulmane*, pl. XXV.

Mentioned: Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 96 f.; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 288, n. 4.

## ṬAYBARS AL-ʿALĀʾĪ

BLAZON: *Napkin on middle field of three-fielded shield.*

TOP OF LANTERN (?). Present owner unknown.

Inscription intersected by three shields:<sup>1</sup>

الجناب العالی ○ السیفی طیبرس العلا ○ ئی رأس نوبة الجمدارية ○

*His High Excellency (janāb), Saif ad-dīn Ṭaybars al-ʿAlāʾī, Chief of the Corps of Jamdārs.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Above the napkin a sword, passing through middle and lower fields, engraved by a later hand.

## ṬĀZ AN-NĀṢIRĪ

S. Ṭāz b. Qutghāj,<sup>2</sup> mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, a page (*ḵbāṣṣakī*), then amir majlis, one of the regents under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājī, helped Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn Ṣālīḥ b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn to the throne in 752 (1351), was Grand Dawādār when imprisoned in 755 (1354), released shortly afterwards and appointed Governor of Aleppo in the same year, imprisoned again early in 759 (1357/8), released through the good offices of Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī in 762 (1361). Lived later on in Jerusalem and Damascus without holding further office. Died towards the end of 763 (October 1362).

BLAZON: *Cup on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

MADRASA and MAUSOLEUM, Jerusalem, Ṭariq Bāb as-Silsila (David Street), locally known as Dār Hidāya.

Two shields, flanking an inscription carved on the lintel of the window of the mausoleum.

بسمه . . . هذه تربة العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى المقر الأشرف السيفي طاز

توفي رحمه الله سنة ثلث وستين وسبعمئة

. . . *This is the mausoleum of the servant yearning for God the Exalted, His Most Noble Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Ṭāz. Passed away—may God have mercy on him—in the year 763 (1361/2).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, No. 86, pp. 286–91, pl. LXX.

Reproduced: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 74, p. 116 (without identification and with the wrong description: Coupe sculptée sur le sebil d'une maison appelée Beit-el-Danaf, dans le Haret-el-Selsileh, à Jérusalem), *Jérusalem* ed. Ashbee, II, figs. 32, 33.

Artin Pasha<sup>3</sup> regarded a composite blazon on a portal in Siufiyya (pl. LXIX. 1) as the blazon of Ṭāz. The attribution is both unfounded and wrong; unfounded, because (a) the accompanying inscription contains only the beginning of a series of titles and no name, (b) the attribution was made on the basis of an identification of the building

<sup>1</sup> *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 54<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 399, 411; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 734 (2nd ed., III, 119 m); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 142<sup>r</sup> v); *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 178<sup>r</sup> f.); Mujīr ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 396, l. 10 (Sauvage, p. 161); Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially I, pp. 194, ll. 9 b ff., 202–3, 205, ll. 4 b ff., 211, l. 8; Weil, IV, 475–507; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, pp. 105 f.; *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 287 (lit.); Ṭabbākh, *A'lām*, II, 436, 439.

<sup>2</sup> Spelling indicated in *A'yān*, and *Durar*, ll. cc.

<sup>3</sup> *Contribution*, No. 97, p. 122.

with the palace of Ṭāz, for which no proof was furnished by Artin;<sup>1</sup> wrong, because the blazon in Siufiyya is about a century later than Ṭāz.

TIMRĀZ<sup>2</sup>

In 918 (1512/13) Governor of the Fortress of Aleppo.

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

BASIN, in the possession of Messrs. J. Sassoon, London, formerly in the collection of the Countess of Craven. Pl. LXII. 5, 9.

Inscription on lip, repeated on body.

المقر الاشرف الكريم العالى ○ المولى الأمير الكبيرى ○ السيفى تراز  
نائب قلعة حلب ○ المنصورة عزّ المولا أنصاره ○

*His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Timrāz, Governor of the victorious fortress of Aleppo, may the Lord make his victories glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

TIMRĀZ AL-AḤMADĪ<sup>3</sup>

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on both the middle and the lower field a cup.*

MOSQUE, Cairo.

Beneath the ceiling of the public fountain an inscription intersected by two shields.

أمر بإنشاء هذا السبيل المبارك السعيد من فضل الله تعالى ○ وجزيل عطائه  
الجناب الكريم العالى المولى الأمير السيفى تراز الظاهرى أمير آخور الملكى

<sup>1</sup> Although the palace must have been situated in the vicinity, cf. Maqrizī, *Khifāt*, II, p. 73, l. 10 b (2nd ed., III, p. 119, l. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 222 and n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> I. Iyās II, 134, l. 7, *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 429.

الظاهرى ○ وكان الفراغ من ذلك فى شهر صفر الخير سنة ست وسبعين  
وثمان مائة

*Ordered to build this blessed fountain . . . His Honourable and High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir Saif ad-dīn Timrāz aḡ-Zābirī, Marshal of al-Malik aḡ-Zābir. Finished in Ṣafar 876 (began 20th July 1471).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, 'Mosquée Timrāz el-Ahmadi connue aussi sous le nom de Mosquée el-Bahloul' (in *CR. Exerc.* 1911, fasc. 28, pp. 120 f.).

### TIMRĀZ AL-MU'AYYADĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Timrāz al-Mu'ayyadī, originally a mamluk of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh and one of his Junior Treasurers, exiled to Syria, some time after 826 made amir at Damascus by Barsbāy, accompanied the Sultan to Amid in 836 (1433), the 19th Jumādā II 838 (20th January 1435) made Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand in Damascus, on the 27th Shawwāl 839 (14th May 1436) appointed Governor of Safad, on the 1st Rabī' I 840 (13th September 1436) dismissed from office and later appointed Governor of Gaza.<sup>2</sup> In Jumādā I 841 arrested in Cairo, imprisoned in Alexandria and executed there on the 23rd Jumādā II of the same year (22nd December 1437).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with two small cups, on lower field two napkins.*

MAQĀM, Nabī Rūbīn, near Jaffa, pl. LIX. 1.

Inscription on slab of marble embedded over the entrance door. Marble in state of decomposition especially noticeable at the ends of the first and third lines.

(1) بِسْمِله . . . أمر بإنشاء هذا القبر المبارك المقرّ العالى السيفى [سيف الدين ]

(2) ترمز المؤيدى الأشرفى نائب السلطنة ○ بغزة على نبى الله روبا [ين] عليه

السلام

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, VI, pp. 574, l. 1, 728, ll. 11, 747, l. 8, 750, ll. 1 ff., 754, ll. 4 ff., 849, l. 7, 853, l. 4; *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 156v).

<sup>2</sup> This is according to the narrative in *Nujūm*, ll. cc. In his *Manhal* Ibn Taghribirdī reverses the order stating that Timrāz was first Governor of Gaza and afterwards Governor of Safad.

(3) [ . . . ] الناصرى فملعون بن ملعون من [ . . . ] الى سكّانها [ . . . ]

*In the name of the most merciful God. His High Excellency Saif ad-dīn [2 words] Timrāz al-Muʿayyadī al-Ashrafī, Governor of Gazā, ordered to construct this blessed tomb for the prophet of God Reu[ben, peace upon h]im [approx. 3 words] of an-Nāṣir. And cursed, and son of a cursed one be he who [1 word] to its inhabitants [ . . . ].*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### TIMUR MIN<sup>1</sup> MAḤMŪDSHĀH<sup>2</sup>

S. Timur min Maḥmūdshāh, a mamluk of Khushqadam, on the latter's accession dubbed amir, in 866 (1462) succeeded Aynāl al-Ashqar as Governor (*wālī*) of Cairo, the 12th Jumādā I 872 (9th December 1467) appointed Grand Chamberlain, died in Ṣafar 880 (began 6th June 1475).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a scimitar crossed by a cup, on lower field a cup.*

COPPER BOWL on foot, tinned over, in the collection of Mme Maspero, Paris. Pl. LXVIII. 2, 3.

Inscription intersected by two shields.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى المولوى الأميرى ○ الكبيرى تمر أمير حاجب  
الحجاب بالقاهرة المحروسة عزّ أنصاره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Timur, Grand Chamberlain in Cairo, the protected, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Un bol compotier en cuivre blasonné du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 90 ff., figs. 1-3.

### TIMURBĀY AL-YAḤYĀWĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between 'a pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās calls him T. b. Maḥmūdshāh, in the index Timur appears under three headings: T. b. M., T. ḥājib al-ḥujjāb, and T. aẓ-Zāhirī. The fact that he is called also T. al-Maḥmūdī (*Nuḡm*, VII, p. 826, l. 6) proves that *min* Maḥmūdshāh is the correct form.

<sup>2</sup> *Nuḡm*, VII, p. 851, l. 14f.; Ibn Iyās, II, pp. 74, l. 5, 88, l. 4, 158, l. 10; Artin, *Bol compotier*, p. 92 ff.

COPPER BOWL, once in the collection Siouffi.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری السیفی تمرباي الیحاوی

عزّ أنصاره [Van Berchem]

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Timurbāy al-Yahyāwī, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ṬUGHAYDAMUR

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on the united middle and lower field two scimitars slanting diagonally towards the bottom of the lower field.*

BASE OF CANDLESTICK, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London. Pl. XXXVI. 4.

Inscription intersected by three shields:

مما عمل برسم الجنا ب العالی ○ المولوی الأمیری السیفی طغیدمر ○ السلحدار

الملكی الناصری ○ [Harari]

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Amir Saif ad-dīn Ṭughaydamur, the armour-bearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### ṬUGHAYTAMUR AN-NAJMI<sup>1</sup>

S. Ṭughaytamur an-Najmī, originally a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, dubbed amir by the latter,<sup>2</sup> served as Grand Dawādār under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma‘īl, al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha‘bān and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji. He was the first dawādār with the rank of an Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand (to which he was promoted at the beginning of

<sup>1</sup> *A‘yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 59<sup>r</sup>, v.); *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 425, ll. 21 ff. (2nd ed., IV, 290, ll. 2 ff.); *Durar*, s.v. MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 144<sup>r</sup>); *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 189<sup>v</sup>); Weil, IV, 473; *CIA. Égypte*, I, 661.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Durar*, l.c., dubbed amir during the reign of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma‘īl.



Hājji's reign). Exiled to Syria, killed in Gaza by Manjak during Jumādā II 748 (began 8th September 1347). Built a *ḵbānqāh*, known as the Najmiyya, in Cairo, a bath-house near it, a drinking trough, and a big house.

BLAZON: *On greenish-brown upper field a golden pen-box, on golden middle field a red cup, lower field greenish-brown.*

1. GLASS LAMP, R. Museo Nazionale, Firenze, originally collection Carrand.

Inscription on neck, three times interrupted by heraldic shields: Qur'ān, II. 256, to نوم. Further three shields on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولى الامیری الکبیری السیفی طغیتمر | | النجمی  
الدوادار الملكی الصالحی عزّ نصره |

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Ṭughaytamur an-Najmī, the dawādār of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, may God make his victory glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *Deux lampes*, p. 186, pl. II.

Mentioned: Jacquemart, 'Exposition de l'Union Centrale' (in *GBA.* 1869, II), p. 340; Herz, *Catalogue*, p. 293; Migeon, *Orient Musulman, Cristaux*, p. 12, No. 17 (where it is stated that the blazon is identical with that of Ṭuquztamur); Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 163, No. 46; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 446, No. 71.

2. GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 314.

Inscription on neck, three times interrupted by heraldic shields, identical with the inscription on body, except for the last two words which are missing on the neck. Three more shields on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on neck:

برسم المقرّ الشریف العالی المولى المالکی المخدمی السیفی طغیتمر الدوادار

Repeated on body with the addition of الملكی الصالحی of *al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ*.

*For His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Ṭughaytamur, the dawādār.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 472, pp. 660 f.; Herz, *Deux lampes*, p. 181, pl. I; Herz, *Catalogue*, Engl. ed., p. 293; Wiet, *Lampes*, pp. 70 f., pl. XIII.

Reproduced: Le Bon, *Civilisation*, pl. facing p. 600; Briggs, *Mubammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, fig. 239

Mentioned and reproduced: Wiet, *Album*, No. 94; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 446, pl. 192, 1.

Blazon reproduced and described: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 93, p. 121 ('sur une lampe en verre émaillé sans inscription, au Musée Arabe du Caire').

## ṬUGHĀYTAMUR

BLAZON: *Both the upper and lower field red, on self-coloured middle field a cup.*

CYLINDRICAL BOX, bronze, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3985.

Inscription on lid:

المقرّ العالی المولوی الامیری الکبیری الغازی المجاهدی المرباطی المثارغری  
المؤیدی الذخری العونی ○ الغیائی السیفی طغای تمر ○ الساقی الملکی الناصری ○

*His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped (by God), the Treasure, the Helper, the Rescuer, Saif ad-dīn Ṭughāytamur, the cupbearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

The same inscription but with fewer titles appears on the body of the box, where the name Ṭughāytamur is spelt 'Ṭughātamur' without a 'y'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mentioned and reproduced: Wiet, *Album*, No. 52.

## ṬUQTAMISH

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box, placed between a pair of 'trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER BOWL, tinned over, in the possession of Messrs. Ohan & Son, Jerusalem.

Inscription intersected by two shields, the lower portion of both text and shields being damaged.

مما عمل برسم الجنا ب العالی السیفی طقطمش الدوادار المقرّ الأشرف السیفی  
جان بلاط

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), Saif ad-dīn Ṭuqtamish, dawādā of His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Jānbalāt.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

ṬUQUZTAMUR<sup>1 2</sup>

S. Ṭuquztamur al-Ḥamawī, the cup-bearer, originally a mamluk of Abu-l-Fidā', presented to Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, dubbed amir by the latter, appointed *amīr majlis* in 731 (1330/1), made a pilgrimage in 732, Viceroy of Egypt in 741 (1340/1), Governor of Hama in Rabi' II 742 (September–October 1341), Governor of Aleppo 743 (1342), Viceroy of Syria from middle of Rajab 743 till Rabi' I 746 (middle December 1342–July 1345). Died in Cairo in Jumādā I, 746<sup>3</sup> (September 1345). Built a bridge over the Great Canal of Cairo (*al-khalij al-kabir*).

BLAZON: *Two-fielded pointed shield. Upper field self-coloured, on red lower field a white eagle above a white cup.*

1. BRONZE EWER, in the collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London, pl. XVI.

Inscription on neck:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف | العالى السيفى طقزتمر | الساقى الملكى  
الناصرى

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Ṭuquztamur, the cupbearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف العالى ۞ المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى السيفى  
طقز ۞ تمر الساقى الملكى الناصرى ۞

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Ṭuquztamur, the cupbearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, especially pp. 179, l. penult., 218, l. 23; Ibn Ḥabib, pp. 374, 375, 378, 384; *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 60<sup>r</sup>, v); *Wāfi*, s.v.; Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, pp. 141, l. 1, 146–7, 176, l. 8; *Khitaṭ*, II, 116 b, 147 (2nd ed., III, pp. 189, l. 7 b, 239, ll. 7 f.); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 144<sup>v</sup>); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 191<sup>v</sup>–192<sup>r</sup>), and s.v. Ṭurjī (l.c., fo. 182<sup>r</sup>, l. 5); Ibn Iyās, especially I, pp. 176, l. 12 b, 177, l. 3 b, 184, l. 6; Cheikho in Ṣāliḥ, p. 141, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This is Ṣafadī's spelling, cf. *A'yān*, s.v.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 86, spells this name Ṭuquzdāmūr, in *Manhal*, s.v., it is vocalized Ṭuquzdāmūr, in Ibn Ḥabib, l.c., *Taquzdāmūr*.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Khitaṭ*, II, p. 116, l. ult., Ṭuquztamur died on the 1st Jumādā II.

ṬUQUZTAMUR<sup>1 2</sup>

S. Ṭuquztamur al-Ḥamawī, the cup-bearer, originally a mamluk of Abu-l-Fidā', presented to Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, dubbed amir by the latter, appointed *amīr majlis* in 731 (1330/1), made a pilgrimage in 732, Viceroy of Egypt in 741 (1340/1), Governor of Hama in Rabi' II 742 (September–October 1341), Governor of Aleppo 743 (1342), Viceroy of Syria from middle of Rajab 743 till Rabi' I 746 (middle December 1342–July 1345). Died in Cairo in Jumādā I, 746<sup>3</sup> (September 1345). Built a bridge over the Great Canal of Cairo (*al-khalij al-kabir*).

BLAZON: *Two-fielded pointed shield. Upper field self-coloured, on red lower field a white eagle above a white cup.*

1. BRONZE EWER, in the collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London, pl. XVI.

Inscription on neck:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف | العالى السيفى طقزتمر | الساقى الملكى  
الناصرى

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Ṭuquztamur, the cupbearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāsir.*

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالى ٥ المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى السيفى  
طقز ٥ تمر الساقى الملكى الناصرى ٥

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Ṭuquztamur, the cupbearer, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāsir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, especially pp. 179, l. penult., 218, l. 23; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 374, 375, 378, 384; *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 60<sup>r</sup> v); *Wāfi*, s.v.; Šāliḥ b. Yahyā, pp. 141, l. 1, 146–7, 176, l. 8; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 116 b, 147 (2nd ed., III, pp. 189, l. 7 b, 239, ll. 7 f.); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 144<sup>v</sup>); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 191<sup>v</sup>–192<sup>r</sup>), and s.v. Ṭurjī (l.c., fo. 182<sup>r</sup>, l. 5); Ibn Iyās, especially I, pp. 176, l. 12 b, 177, l. 3 b, 184, l. 6; Cheikho in Šāliḥ, p. 141, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This is Šafadī's spelling, cf. *A'yān*, s.v.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 86, spells this name Ṭuquzdamur, in *Manhal*, s.v., it is vocalized Ṭuquzdamur, in Ibn Ḥabīb, l.c., Taquzdamur.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 116, l. ult., Ṭuquztamur died on the 1st Jumādā II.

2, 3. Two GLASS LAMPS, British Museum, London.

Inscription on neck: Qur'ān, XXIV. 35.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالی المولوی الأمیری السیفی طقزدمر أمير مجلس الملكی  
الناصری

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency, our Lord, the Amir Saif ad-dīn Ṭuquzdamur, amīr majlis of al-Malik an-Nāsir.*

The inscriptions are identical on both lamps, save for the words *His High Excellency*, omitted on one of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 259 f., 272; Sobernheim, *Arabische Gefässinschriften*, p. 190, pl. VIII b.

Mentioned and reproduced: Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.) II, p. 135 f., fig. 295; P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 25, p. 10.

Blazon reproduced and described: Rogers, No. 25, p. 126, fig. 45; Artin, *Contribution*, No. 42, p. 95; Prinnet, *De l'origine orientale*, p. 53, fig. 18; reproduced only: Lane Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 316, fig. 72; Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas*, p. 3, fig. 9.

Mentioned: Garnier, *Collections de M. Spitzer*, p. 296; van Berchem, *Notes III*, p. 80 n.; CR. fasc. 32, p. 136, n. 2; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 162 f., Nos. 43, 44; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 445.

The following objects with the blazon described above should be attributed to Ṭuquz-tamur, although they were issued by his major-domo. It is worth noting that the customary opening phrase 'مما عمل برسم' 'this is one of the objects made for' does not occur in any of the three inscriptions in which Qushtumur is mentioned.

4. CANDLESTICK, in 1876 in the collection of Count Hoyos, Vienna, present owner unknown.

Inscription:

الجناب العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری ۛ السیفی قشتمر أستاذ الدار<sup>1</sup> الکریمة  
طقزتمر أمير مجلس عز نصره ۛ

*His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Qushtumur, major-domo of the noble house of Ṭuquzdamur, amīr majlis, may his victory be glorious.*

<sup>1</sup> In the facsimile published by Karabacek there is only one *ahf* visible in this word. Either involutio or a mistake on the part of the draughtsman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Karabacek, *Ein damascenischer Leuchter des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 265–82 and figs.; Sobernheim, *Arabische Gefässinschriften von der Ausstellung islamischer Kunst in Paris*, pp. 186 f., pl. VIII c, d, e, who corrected several mistakes made by Karabacek such as *qasīm* for *Qushtumur*, *al-karīmī* for *al-karīma*, *Toka* for *Ṭuquz*.

Described and reproduced: *Katalog der Kunstsammlung Graf Rudolf Hoyos*, No. 283.

Blazon reproduced: Fox-Davies, *Guide*, p. 13, fig. 7.

Mentioned: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 387, n. 4; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II, p. 136.

5. COPPER BOWL, Kunstgewerbe-Museum, Hamburg, No. 1906, 577. Formerly in the possession of Husain Eff. Siouffi, Damascus, then in that of Messrs. Tabbagh, Paris.

Three shields alternating with three non-heraldic cartouches.

Inscription:

الجناب العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری ا ل مالکی العالی الغازی السیفی قشتمر ۵  
أستاذ الدار الکریمة طقزتمر أمیر مجلس عز نصره ۵

*His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Royal, the Learned, the Vanquisher, Saif ad-dīn Qushtumur, major-domo of the noble house of Ṭuquztamur, amīr majlis, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Ahlenstiel-Engel, *Arabische Kunst*, fig. 9.

6. COPPER BOWL, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London.

Three heraldic shields.

Inscription on outside of bowl.

الجناب العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری المالکی ا لعالی العاملی العادلی الغازی  
المجاهدی المراء ۵ بطی المخدموی السیفی قشتمر أستاذ الدار الکریمة طقزتمر أمیر  
مجلس عز نصره ۵

*His High Excellency (janāb), our Lord, the Great Amir, the Royal, the Learned, the Just, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Qushtumur, major-domo of the noble house of Ṭuquztamur, amīr majlis, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Five more objects showing a blazon in every detail of design and colour identical with authentic examples of the blazon of Ṭuquztamur may be tentatively attributed to him.

7. GLASS BOTTLE, Musée du Louvre, Paris, formerly in the collection Spitzer, then in that of Goupil.

Three shields.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم الشربخانا السعيدة المخدومية الناصر [1 word] عز الله أنصاه  
الملكى الكاملى

*This is one of the objects made for the gladdening cellar of the Well-Served, Nāṣir ad-dīn (?) . . . may God make his victories glorious, (officer) of al-Malik al-Kāmil.*

The text is not sufficiently clearly worded to allow of a good translation, and it is not evident whether the object was made for Ṭuquztamur's own cellar or for somebody else's cellar to whom the bottle was offered by Ṭuquztamur, the last-mentioned alternative being by far the most probable. As to the designation 'officer of al-Malik al-Kāmil', it will be remembered that Ṭuquztamur was in the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān, as Viceroy of Syria, from the latter's accession to the throne in Rabi' II 746, until Ṭuquztamur's death a few weeks later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced and described: Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, vol. *Cristaux*, p. 11, pl. 6, where the reference to Herz and the statement that there are two similar bottles, one in Florence and another in Cairo, should be deleted. In his notes Migeon mixed up this bottle with the lamp of Ṭughāytamur an-Najmī.

Mentioned: Schmoranz, p. 3; Lavoix, *Galerie orientale du Trocadéro*, p. 780; Lavoix, *La Collection Albert Goupil*, p. 303; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II. 135 f.; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 164, No. 54; Lamm, p. 410 f., where additional literature can be found.

8. GLASS LAMP, Kunst und Altertumssammlungen, Veste Coburg, in 1855 acquired in Cairo.

Three shields, the inscription rubbed off.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reproduced: Kämmerer 'Schöne Gläser aus der Sammlung der Veste Coburg', in *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Leipzig, No. 4442, 1st May 1930, p. 600.

9, 10. TWO SLABS OF WHITE MARBLE, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, found in a bath at Darb al-Gamamiz, Cairo.

Without inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *Catalogue*, p. 45, fig. 10; Artin, *Contribution*, Nos. 39 and 40, p. 95.

Reproduced: Migeon, *Le Caire, le Nil et Memphis*, p. 72; Rogers, fig. 49 (Germ. ed.).

Mentioned: Herz, *Le Musée National*, p. 51.

11. POTSHERD, once in the collection Fouquet, present owner unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Contribution*, No. 41, p. 95.

## TURGHĀY<sup>1 2</sup>

S. Ṭurghāy, originally a mamluk of aṭ-Ṭabbākhī, passed into the service of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, became his taster (*jāshnigīr*), the 3rd Rabi' II 739 (19th October 1338) appointed Governor of Aleppo, after the arrest of Tankiz dismissed from office together with other governors of Syria, returned to Cairo, where he lived in retirement till in Rajab 743 (December 1342) he was sent to Tripoli as Governor. Remained there till his death, 6th Ramaḍān 744 (22nd January 1344).<sup>3</sup>

BLAZON: *Table (ḵbānjā) probably on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

ورنك المتصل خونجا

... and the blazon of the arriving [i.e. Ṭurghāy] was a table ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Constantinople, IV, p. 132, l. 18; Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 324, l. 7 b.

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 162, l. 16, 163, l. 11, 173, l. 1, 183, l. 16, 199, l. 11, 212, l. 14, 214, l. 21, 218, l. 15, 222, l. 9; Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Constantinople, IV, p. 132, l. 15; Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 324, l. 10 b; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 370, 379 (with vowel-signs); *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 56<sup>r</sup>); *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 51, ll. 9 f. (2nd ed., III, p. 81, l. penult.); *Durar*, s.v. (Mus. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 143<sup>r</sup>); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 182<sup>r</sup>); Ṭabbākh, *A'lam*, II, 399-401.

<sup>2</sup> Spelling in words in *Manḥal*, l.c., where the name is explained as meaning a bird in Turkish.

<sup>3</sup> *Manḥal*, l.c.: Sha'bān 743.



ṬURJĪ<sup>1 2</sup>

S. Ṭurjī, one of the mamluks of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, originally his cup-bearer, later silahdār, elevated by him to the rank of an amīr majlis. In 719 (1319) and 725 (1325) leader of the pilgrimage. Died on the 5th Rabī' II 731 (16th January 1331).

BLAZON: *Cup on the red middle field of a three-fielded shield.*<sup>3</sup>

1. CANDLESTICK, in the collection of Mr. Theron Damon, Robert College, Constantinople. Pl. XXII. 1, 2.

Inscription on neck: Essential portion illegible on the photograph.

Inscription on body:

○ مِمَّا عَمِلَ بِرِسْمِ الْمُقَرَّرِ الْعَالِي ○ السَّيْفِيُّ طَرْجِي السَّاقِي النَّاصِرِي ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency Saif ad-dīn Ṭurjī, the cupbearer of (al-Malik) an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. COPPER BASIN, tinned over, collection R. A. Harari, Esq., London.

Inscription intersected by four shields:

○ الْمُقَرَّرُ الْأَشْرَفُ الْعَالِي الْمَوْلَا ○ ○ السَّيْفِيُّ طَرْجِي أَمِيرِ مَجْلِسِ [ ] الْمَلِكِي [ ] لَنَا ○

*His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, Saif ad-dīn Ṭurjī, amīr majlis of al-Malik an-Nā[sir].*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## ṬURUNTĀY AṬ-ṬABBĀKHĪ

BLAZON: *Barry of five pieces.*

EWER, Museo Civico, Bologna, No. 'Università 5'.

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 169, l. 10, 172, l. 6, 176, l. 7, 183, l. 3; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3043, fo. 142<sup>v</sup>); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, fo. 181<sup>v</sup>, 182<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 161, l. 3 b.

<sup>2</sup> I am spelling the name according to the *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 56<sup>r</sup>, l. 11), although the amir dealt with there is not identical with our Ṭurjī. Zetterstéen spells it Ṭurjī and Utarjī (اُطَرَجِي).

<sup>3</sup> Traces of incrustation are visible on the photographs of the candlestick, which I owe to the good offices of the owner and of Prof. R. M. Riefstahl.

One shield immediately below the spout.

Inscription round the spout:

برسم الجنب العالی طرظای الطبّاحی

*For His High Excellency (janāb), Ṭuruntāy aṭ-Ṭabbākhī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

# ULMĀS<sup>1</sup>

S. Ulmās, originally a mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, became taster (*jāshnigīr*), the 21st Rajab 717 appointed Grand Chamberlain, on Arghūn's transfer to Aleppo acted as Viceroy of Egypt (although without the title of such), arrested the 20th Dhu-l-Ḥijja 733. Executed the 12th Ṣafar 734<sup>2</sup> (22nd October 1333).

BLAZON: *Yellow emblem No. 26 with whitish crescent, on whitish undivided field.*

GLASS LAMP, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 3154, originally in the collection Linant de Bellefonds, subsequently in that of Rostovitz Bey.

Six shields, three intersecting the inscription on the neck (Qur'ān, IX. 18, to الآخر), and three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on body:

مما عمل برسم الجامع الممو' بذكر | الله تعالى وقف المقرّ العالی | السیفی الماس  
أمیر حاجب الملکی الناصری

*This is one of the objects made for the Mosque that prospers by the worship of God the Exalted, a pious foundation of His High Excellency, Saif ad-dīn Ulmās, Amir-Chamberlain of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 26, pp. 127 ff., fig. 46; Artin, *Six lampes*, No. 6, pp. 148 ff., pl. II; Herz, *Catalogue*, Engl. ed., pp. 290 ff., fig. 56; Wiet, *Lampes*, pp. 122 ff., pl. VIII.

Mentioned: Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, pp. 250, 272; CR. Exerc. 1903, fasc. 20, p. 58; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 437 f., No. 38 (with sketch).

Blazon reproduced: P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 10, fig. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 147, l. 9, 166, l. 19, 187, ll. 8, 15, 226, l. 10; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Or. 3043, fo. 77<sup>r</sup>); *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 74, l. 12, 307, ll. 9 ff.; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 19<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>); Rogers, l.c.; Artin, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> *Durar*, l.c.: the last days of Dhu-l-Ḥijja 732; *Manḥal*, l.c.: the 2nd Ṣafar.

## ULMĀS

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER BOWL, tinned over, in the possession of the present writer.

Four shields.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الكريم أ<sup>١</sup> ○ العالی المولوی الأميری الکبیر [ی] ○  
 السیفی الماس [2-3 words]<sup>١</sup> السعید أعزّ ○ الله تعالى أنصاره وادام عزّ [ه] ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Ulmās . . . may God the Exalted make his victories glorious and his strength eternal.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

ULMĀS AL-ASHRAFĪ<sup>2</sup>

Probably identical with Ulmās, originally in the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy, made amir in Aleppo, occupied various posts there, became *atābak* of Aleppo, was killed in battle against Siwār, on the 5th Rabī' I 872 (4th October 1467), over 50 years old.

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field two cups, on lower field a napkin.*

COPPER BASIN tinned over. Collection R.A. Harari, Esq., London, once in the possession of Husain Eff. Siouffi, Damascus. Pl. LVIII. 3, 4.

Inscription:

المقرّ الكر [patch] ○ السیدی المالکی المخدمی | السیفی الماس المالکی أ<sup>١</sup>الأشرفی  
 أمير [patch] | المقام الشریف بحلب المحروس ○ أعزّ أنصاره لصاحبه لسعاده

*His Hono[urable] Excellency, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Ulmās,*

<sup>1</sup> These words are entirely obliterated except for three letters ف ا ب (or و).

<sup>2</sup> *Daw'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 b Warn., p. 732).

(officer) of al-Malik al-Ashraf, amir . . . of His Majesty in Aleppo, the protected. May (God) make his victories glorious. Happiness to its proprietor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

‘UMAR AL-‘ĀQIL

BLAZON: On the middle field of a three-fielded shield a pen-box without the middle part.

PERFUME SPRINKLER, in 1880 in possession of A. Baudry, present owner unknown.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم العبد الفقير الحاج عمر العاقل

This is one of the objects made for the servant yearning for God, the Mecca-pilgrim ‘Umar al-‘Āqil (=the wise).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 16, p. 122, fig. 36.

‘UMAR B. SHĀHĀNSHĀH

The blazon of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī ad-dīn ‘Umar, the Ayyubid, was described by St. Ambroise, *L’Etoile de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. Gaston Paris, v. 6563 ff., p. 175: *La iert l’amiralz Dequedin, un des parenz Salabadin, qui ot portrait en sa baniere enseignes d’estrange maniere: ço estoit une baniere as braies, c’erent ses enseignes veraies*, and by the author of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, ed. Stubbs, p. 272, as *habens baneriam insignitam miro genere distinctionis, scilicet incisarum schemate braccarum*.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of a concrete example of his arms we can only register this statement, although it would seem much more probable that the emblem seen by the Frankish knight was a shield divided by bends like the arms of other Ayyubids of Hama, e.g. Abu-l-Fidā’ or Nūr ad-dīn b. ‘Imād ad-dīn. Assuming the badge to be somewhat disfigured, either because the banner had a hole or the embroidery had been unpicked or—should the emblem have been sewn on—a piece of cloth had been torn off, the remaining portion could have easily justified such a statement. In the past ‘Umar’s emblem has been considered to be either a pen-box<sup>2</sup> or a pair of polo-sticks.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Often quoted, among others, by Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, IV, p. 416, n. 85; Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 320; Artin, *Contribution*, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Lane-Poole, l.c., note \*: ‘a well-known *renk* . . . copied from an ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic cartouche.’

<sup>3</sup> Artin, *Contribution*, p. 132; Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza*, I. 74.

UZBAK<sup>1</sup>

S. Uzbek min Tuṭukh bought by al-Ashraf Barsbāy in 841, passed into the service of az-Zāhir Jaqmaq, became a cup-bearer, in 852 (began 7th March 1448) dubbed Amir of Ten, then appointed Chief of a Corps of Mamluks (*ra's nauba*), under al-Malik al-Manṣūr succeeded Qarājā as Amir of Forty and Second Treasurer (*ḫbāẓindār*), arrested by al-Malik al-Ashraf Aynāl, imprisoned in Alexandria and Safad, released early in 858 (1454), lived in Jerusalem without office, in 861 (began 29th November 1456) recalled to Cairo, made Amir of Ten, 9th Jumādā I 868 (19th January 1464) appointed Grand Chamberlain (*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*), then Chief of the Corps of Mamluks (*ra's naubat an-nunwāb*), towards the end of Rabī' I 872 (began 30th September 1467) appointed Viceroy of Syria. In Muḥarram 873 (began 22nd July 1468) appointed Commander-in-Chief, remained in office until 900. In 902 appointed Commander-in-Chief for a second time, died the 24th Ramaḍān 904 (5th May 1499). Built a mosque, a bath, and a caravanserai (*wakālah*) in Cairo.

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup placed between 'a pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH, tinned over, in the collection of R. A. Harari, Esq., London.

On the back of the dish two inscriptions and two shields.

Inscription (A):

المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالى المولوى الأميرى الكبرى | السيفى ازبك أتابك  
الساكر المنصورة بالممالك الإسلامية عظم شأنه

*His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Uzḫak, Commander-in-Chief of the victorious armies in the Islamic provinces, may his dignity increase.*

Inscription (B):

<sup>1</sup> *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 167<sup>v</sup>); *Dau'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 b Warn., pp. 677-9); Ibn Iyās, especially II, pp. 100, l. 4, 282, ll. 3 b ff., 291, l. 12, 355, l. 4 ff.; Weil, V. 256, 300, 329 f., 333, 366, 373 f.; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 459 f., 471, 530, n. 3.

مما عمل برسم الزينى سرور من اقبردى غفر له | فى خدمة امير دواد[ا]ر  
كبير طومان باى عز نصره

*This is one of the objects made for Zain ad-dīn Surūr min Aqbirdī, may he be pardoned, in the service of the Grand Dawādār Ṭūmānbāy, may his victory be glorious.*

To judge from their position the shields belong to the first inscription, although the second one is so worded as if the dish had been made originally for Surūr and not for Uzbek.

DATE: The second text mentions a Grand Dawādār Ṭūmānbāy, during whose term of office the dish was made. Now there are two Ṭūmānbāys to be considered: one appointed Grand Dawādār the 17th Rabi' I 904, on al-Malik az-Zāhir Qānṣūh's accession to the throne, remained in office till he was elected Sultan in 906; the other Ṭūmānbāy b. Qānṣūh, nephew of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī, in 913 appointed Grand Dawādār, remained in office till he, too, was elected Sultan in 922. Theoretically there is the possibility of both inscriptions having been engraved within six months between Rabi' I and Ramaḍān 904, during which period Uzbek was still Commander-in-Chief and Ṭūmānbāy already Grand Dawādār. As the data do not suffice to identify this Surūr with any of his several namesakes mentioned by Ibn Iyās, it might be assumed for the sake of argument that Surūr had this dish made to order after the 17th Rabi' I 904, that he died, or that his property was confiscated or otherwise disposed of later, but still in time for Uzbek to acquire this dish and add his inscription prior to his own death in Ramaḍān of the same year. But this hypothesis seems far-fetched and improbable. It is far more likely that the initial phrase 'this is one of the objects made for' is not to be taken literally, and that it is, in this as in a few other instances, merely a later addition, so that we may not unreasonably consider this object as having been made for Uzbek and acquired by Surūr after Uzbek's death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

2. BRONZE DISH, in possession of Mme Maspero, Paris.

One shield in the centre, four on the border.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف الكريم العالى ○ المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى  
السيدى ○ المالكى المخدمى السيفى أزيك ○ أتابك العساكر المنصورة بالديار  
المصريّة الملكى الأشرفى عز نصره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our*

*Lord, the Great Amir, the Master, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Uzbak, Commander-in-Chief of the victorious army in Egypt, (officer) of al-Malik al-Asbraf, may his victory be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jean Maspero, *Deux vases de bronze arabes du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 173 f.

### UZBAK AL-YŪSUFĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Uzbek al-Yūsufī, originally a mamluk of Jaqmaq, became known as Treasurer and Keeper of the Privy Purse, in Ṣafar 876 (began 20th July 1471) appointed Governor of 'Aintāb in sign of disgrace, but pardoned and allowed to remain in Cairo, until in Rabi' I 880 (began 5th July 1475), dismissed from office of Grand Treasurer, became Commander of a Thousand, in 886 Leader of the pilgrimage, in 894 (1489) appointed Chief of the Corps of Mamluks, in Ṣafar 901 (began 21st October 1495) appointed Amīr Silāh, towards the end of the same year appointed Amīr Majlis, in Jumādā II 902 (began 4th February 1497), replaced by Tānībak Qarā, in Muḥarram 903 (September 1497) appointed Councillor to the Government (*mushīr al-mamlaka*), died the 24th Ramaḍān 904 (5th May 1499).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkīn between a 'pair of trousers' pointing outwards, on middle field a cup between another 'pair of trousers' (?), on lower field a cup between two napkīns.*

1. MOSQUE, Cairo, pl. LXIX. 2.

Two shields flanking the windows above the main entrance gate. The upper and lower fields and the charges of the middle field are sunk *en creux*, whereas the remaining charges and the middle field are raised, i.e. are level with the surface of the stone.

Inscription to the right of the shields:

أمر بإنشاء هذا المسجد الجامع المقر الأشرف الكريم العالي السيفي أزيك اليوسفي  
امير رأس نوبة النواب الملكي الأشرفي بتاريخ شهر شعبان المكرم سنة تسعمائة  
من الهجرة

*Ordered to build this Mosque His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency Saif ad-dīn*

<sup>1</sup> *Dau'*, s.v. (MS. Leyden, Cod. 369 b. Warn. p. 679 f.); Ibn Iyās, especially II, pp. 129, l. penult., 158, l. 23, 213, l. 5, 232, l. 22, 259, l. 6, 292, l. 16, 304, l. 8 b, 312, l. penult., 332, l. 23, 353, l. 15, 356, ll. 13 ff.; Weil, V. 348, n. 2, 366, 374 n.; Herz., *La Mosquée d' Ezbek el-Yussufy*, pp. 16 f.; Artin, *Un sabre de l'Émir Ezbek el Yussufi el Zabery*, pp. 253 ff.; CIA. *Égypte*, I. 536-8.

*Uzbek al-Yūsufī, Amir Chief of the Mamluks of al-Malik al-Asbraf. On the date of the honoured Sha'bān of the year 900 of the Hijra (May 1495).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *La Mosquée de Ezbek el-Yussufy*, pp. 16 ff., fig. 6; Artin, *Un sabre de l'Émir Ezbek*, p. 252, fig. 3; *CIA. Egypte*, I, No. 350, p. 528, fig. on p. 530, and pl. XL, 1.

Reproduced and described: Rogers, No. 10, p. 116, fig. 30.

Reproduced: Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 349, fig. 92; P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, fig. 19, p. 10; fig. 16 shows in the upper field a cup instead of a napkin.

2. SWORD, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, formerly in the collection Artin Pasha. Pl. LXVIII. 1.

On the blade inscription in one line accompanied by a shield.

A comparison of this shield with any one of those on the Mosque reveals two changes in the shape of the emblems on the upper field. The napkin is misformed, which made Artin Pasha describe it as a 'vase fermé', and the 'pair of trousers' is turned with its points towards the napkin and not away from it. The first point of difference is certainly due to the carelessness of the engraver, whose lack of skill is illustrated by the clumsy character of the script.

The essential portion of the text runs as follows:

وقف المقرّ الأشرف السيفي أزيلك أمير د[أ]س نوبة النوب الملكي الأشرفي . . .

*Waqf of His Most Noble Excellency Saif ad-dīn Uzbek, Amir Chief of the Corps of the Mamluks of al-Malik al-Asbraf . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artin, *Un sabre*, pp. 249 ff., figs. 1 and 2.

## UZDAMUR<sup>1 2</sup>

Perhaps identical with S. Uzdampur, originally a mamluk of Barqūq, promoted after the death of the latter, under Shaikh became Amir of a Hundred, arrested by Ṭaṭar, died in 824 (1421).

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field two cups, on lower field a napkin.*

<sup>1</sup> *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2068, fo. 168<sup>v</sup>-169<sup>r</sup>). The main reason for suggesting this identification is the surname Saif ad-dīn, most other Uzdampurs having borne the surname 'Izz ad-dīn.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the pronunciation of this name, cf. Mayer, *Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza*, III. 223 f.



COPPER BASIN, tinned over, Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim-Stiftung, Berlin. Pl. LVIII. 1, 2.

Two shields.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی | المالکی المخدمی | السیفی أزدمر امیر عشروات

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Uzdamur, Amir of Ten.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### YALBUGHĀ AN-NĀSIRĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Yalbughā, originally a mamluk of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan, held many offices, in 775 appointed Grand Chamberlain (*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*). Died in 776 (1374/5).

BLAZON: *Upper field red, on self-coloured middle field a blue sword with white sword-knot and white bands, lower field black.*

GLASS LAMP, in the possession of M. Ispenian, Cairo, formerly in the collection J. Dixon.

Three shields on neck, three on the lower part of the body.

Inscription on neck:

المقرّ الکرم العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری المالکی المخدمی

continued on body:

السیفی یلبغا الناصری الأشرفی امیر حاجب بالأبواب الشریفة اعلاه الله تعالى

*His Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Royal, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Yalbughā an-Nāṣirī, (officer) of al-Malik al-Asḥraf, Amir Chamberlain at the Noble Gates, may God, the Exalted, elevate him.*

DATE: Between 775 (date of his appointment as Amir Chamberlain) and 776 (his death).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 261; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 174, No. 127.

<sup>1</sup> *Nujūm*, obituaries, s.a. 776 (MS. Paris, Ar. 1786, fo. 189<sup>v</sup>); *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 440<sup>v</sup>) *CIA. Égypte*, I. 679, n. 2.

Mentioned and reproduced: *Illustrated Catalogue of Specimens of Persian and Arab Art*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1885, No. 256, p. 32, pl. 18; Schmoranz, p. 21.

Mentioned: *CIA. Egypte*, I. 679, n. 2; Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), II. 134; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 470, No. 180.

YALBUGHĀ AL-'UMARĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Yalbughā al-'Umarī, known as 'the page' (*ḵbāṣṣakī*), a freed mamluk of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan, dubbed Amir of Ten by his master, later promoted to the rank of an Amir of Forty, became Major-domo, in 760 appointed Amīr Majlis, in 762 murdered Ḥasan, on the accession of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Ḥājjī became Commander-in-Chief, remained in office till he met his death during a revolt the 10th<sup>2</sup> Rabī' II 768 (14th December 1366).

BLAZON: *On the middle field of a three-fielded shield a cup.*

MADRASA, Ramleh.

Inscription, now disappeared:

... هذه المدرسة المباركة المقرّ العالی المولوی السیفی یلبغا الخالصکی أعزّ الله أنصاره

فی جمادی الأول سنة ستین وسبعمئة [van Berchem]

[Ordered to build] this blessed school His High Excellency, our Lord, Saif ad-dīn Yalbughā al-ḵbāṣṣakī, may God make his victories glorious, in Jumādā I 760 (April 1359).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

YALBUGHĀ AL-YAḤYĀWĪ<sup>3</sup>

S. Yalbughā b. S. Ṭābtā al-Yaḥyāwī, a favourite mamluk of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn and his cup-bearer. In 743 (1342/3) Governor of Hama. After the

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 419; *Ṣubḥ*, VII. 60; Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, p. 51, l. ult., 52, l. ult., 213, l. 5, 279, l. 12; *Khīṭat*, II, p. 399, l. 20 (2nd ed., IV. 249, l. 8); *Durar*, s.v.; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 432<sup>v</sup>-434<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, especially I, pp. 207, l. 15, 209, ll. 5, 17 ff., 211, l. 5, 212, l. 6, 213, l. 13-218, l. 4 b, 219, ll. 7 ff.; Weil, especially IV, 503 f., 508, 511-18; *CIA. Egypte*, I. 274, n. 3; Cheikho in Ṣāliḥ, p. 51, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās, I, p. 218, l. 4 b: the 9th; *Khīṭat*, l.c.: in Shawwāl.

<sup>3</sup> *A'yān*, s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 170<sup>r</sup>-171<sup>v</sup>), and s.v. Ṭābtā (l.c., fo. 54<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 379, 383, 387, Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, pp. 146, l. ult., 176, l. 11, 177, ll. 2 ff.; *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 162<sup>r</sup>) *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 430<sup>r</sup>-432<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 184, l. 6, 187-8; Weil, IV. 453, 460, 463, 472, 473; Cheikho in Ṣāliḥ, p. 146, n. 2 (where the date of his death is wrongly stated to be 747).

death of Alṭunbughā appointed Governor of Aleppo in 744 (1343/4); under al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān appointed Viceroy of Syria, which he entered on Saturday, the 12th Jumādā I 746 (10th September 1345). Made prisoner, executed, and buried at Qāqūn, Jumādā I 748 (9th August-7th September 1347). Built the stable in the Sūq al-Khail, which was later turned into the Madrasa of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo. Repaired the Qubbat an-Nāṣir at the Masjīd al-Qadam, qaisariyyas outside Bāb al-Faraj, two baths outside the Bāb al-Jābiyah (Damascus), and started working on a mosque in the Sūq al-Khail in Damascus in 748 (1347).

BLAZON: *Cup on middle field of a three-fielDED shield.*

PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Maḥall Muḥammad Bey, Bāb an-Nairab-quarter, Aleppo. Locally known as 'Qaşṭal Shabāraq'.

Four heraldic shields had to be placed in the four corners of the slab of stone, but only the bottom ones have been fully carved out, of the upper shields only the two horizontal lines dividing the fields being marked.

(I) أَمْرٌ بِإِنْشَاءِ هَذَا السَّبِيلِ الْمُبَارَكِ أَتَقَرَّرُ الْأَشْرَفُ الْعَالِي الْمَوْلَى الْمَالِكِي

الْمَخْدُومِي

(2) الْكَافِلِي السَّيْفِي يَلْبَغَا السَّاقِي الصَّالِحِي كَافِلُ الْمَالِكِ الْحَبِيبَةِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ أَعَزَّ

اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ مِنْ مَالِهِ

(3) ابْتِغَاءَ لَوْجِهِ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يَسْقِيهِ الْعَطَشُ الْأَكْبَرُ يَوْمَ لَا يَنْفَعُ مَالٌ وَلَا بَنُونَ

إِلَّا مَنْ أَتَى اللَّهَ بِقَلْبٍ سَلِيمٍ (Qur'an XXVI. 88 f.)

(4) وَذَلِكَ فِي شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ سِتَّةٍ وَارْبَعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِئَةً بِنَظَرِ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى

اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ الْحَرَّانِي عَفَا اللَّهُ عَنْهُ

*His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Well-Served, the Viceroy, Saif ad-dīn Yalbughā, the Cup-bearer of (al-Malik) as-Sālīḥ, Viceroy of the protected provinces of Aleppo, may God make his victories glorious, ordered to construct this blessed public fountain out of his own fortune, in his desire to please God the Exalted, may He quench his greatest thirst*

*the day in which neither riches nor children shall avail, unless unto him who shall approach God with a pure heart. This was done in Rabī' I 746 (July 1345) under the supervision of the servant yearning for God the Exalted Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarrānī, may God forgive him.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bishoff, *Tuḥaf al-anbā'*, pp. 157f. (several mistakes, blazon not mentioned).

### YASHBAK AL-ḤAMZĀWĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Yashbak al-Ḥamzāwī, mamluk of Sūdūn al-Ḥamzāwī az-Zāhirī, appointed by Jaqmaq Dawādār of the Sultan at Aleppo, in 851 (1447) appointed Governor of Gaza, in the same year Governor of Safad, died there the 27th Ramaḍān 855 (23rd October 1451).

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a cup charged with two small cups and placed between two emblems No. 46, on lower field a cup.*

BODY OF CANDLESTICK, made of copper, inside tinned over, Düsseldorf, Kunstgewerbe-Museum, No. 16151. Pl. LXV. 3.

Inscription intersected by three shields:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف العالی المولوی ○ السیدی السیفی شبک الحمزاوی  
نقیب ○ القلعة المنصورة بدمشق المحروسة عز أنصاره ○

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, Saif ad-dīn Yashbak al-Ḥamzāwī, Commandant of the victorious fortress in the protected Damascus, may his victories be glorious.*

None of the passages mentioned in the note records the fact that Yashbak ever was commandant (*naqīb*) of the fortress of Damascus, but the high title given him in the text of the inscription makes it plausible that he occupied this post between 851 and 854. The date of this candlestick must therefore lie within these four years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### YASHBAK MIN MAHDĪ<sup>2</sup>

S. Yashbak min Mahdī, originally a mamluk of Jaqmaq, in 859 still in the ranks, became Junior Dawādār, in 871 (1466/7) dubbed Amīr of Ten and

<sup>1</sup> *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 426<sup>v</sup>, 427<sup>r</sup>); *Ḥawādith*, s.aa. 851, 854; *Nujūm*, VII, cf. Index; Sakhāwī, *at-Tibr al-masbūk*, p. 381, ll. 11 ff.; *Ḍaw'*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> *Ḍaw'*, s.v.; *Nujūm*, VII, pp. 753, l. 5, 866, l. 5, 868, l. 2; Ibn Iyās, especially II, pp. 51, l. 4, 90,

appointed District Officer of the Southern District of Egypt, on Qāyrbāy's accession in 872 (1468) appointed Grand Dawādār, in addition to which he was given, in 873, the posts of Vizier and Major-domo, and shortly afterwards those of a First General (*bāsh al-ʿaskar*), Amir Silāḥ, Inspector-General (*kāshif al-kushshāf*) and Regent (*muddabir al-mamlaka*), in Shawwāl 878 (began 19th February 1474) resigned from the posts of Vizier and Major-domo, in Rajab 883 (October 1478) appointed Major-domo for a second time. Died during the last ten days of Ramaḍān 885<sup>1</sup> (24th November–3rd December 1480).

BLAZON: (a) *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*<sup>2</sup> (b) *A lion.*<sup>3</sup>

1. COPPER DISH, in 1880 in the collection A. Baudry, present owner unknown.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالی المولوی الأمیری الکبیری السیفی شبک  
من مهدی أمير دوادار کبیر الملکی الأشرفی

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Yashbak min Mahdī, Grand Amir Dawādār of al-Malik al-Asraf.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, No. 6, pp. 114 f., fig. 26; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 454 and n. 3, where the mistakes in Rogers's text were corrected.

2. PALACE, Cairo, locally known as Hosh Bardaq.

Two painted shields, one on each side of the portal. The colours faded and most of the charges undistinguishable.

The essential portion of the inscription on the façade runs as follows:

... مما أمر بإنشائه برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالی . . . شبک من مهدی أمير

l. 16, 92, l. 10, 102, l. 20, 107, l. 4, 124, l. 3, 127, ll. 3 ff., 141, l. 5 b, 149, l. 8, 152, l. 4 b, 154, l. 11, 184, l. 1, 199, ll. 9, 7 b ff., 202, l. 8; Weil, V. 328, 335, 342; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 440, 451, 455, 457, n. 2, 515, 721–3, 749 f.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to this date, cf. *CIA. Égypte*, I. 455, n. 5, 457, n. 2, 515, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Although there are no 'trousers' on Rogers' drawing, l.c. fig. 26, he assures us that the blazons are in both cases identical.

<sup>3</sup> Known only from a passage in Ibn Iyās *رکة مئة سبع في صنعه* (II, p. 127, l. 9), mentioned by Weil, V. 335, and quoted by Artin, *Bol comptoir*, p. 94, n. 1.

دوادر كبير وباش العساكر المنصورة ومدبر الممالك الإسلامية . . . [وذلك في  
شهر رمضان المعظم سنة ثمانين وثمانمائة]

. . . *This is one (of the buildings) the construction of which was ordered for His Most Noble and High Excellency . . . Yashbak min Mahdī, Grand Amīr Dawādār and Head of the Victorious Army and Regent of the Islamic provinces . . . during the month of Ramaḍān of the year 880 (began 29th December 1475).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *CIA. Égypte*, I. 440, 454, n. 3, 459 and n. 2.

Mentioned: Rogers, l.c., p. 115; Herz, *Deux lampes*, p. 182, n. 3.

Reproduced: *CR. Exerc.* 1894, fasc. 11, pl. V; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 319, fig. 75 (only the pen-box visible); Migeon, *Le Caire, le Nil et Memphis*, p. 19; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, pl. XVI. A; Tarchi, *L'Architettura e l'Arte Mussulmana*, pl. LXXXI.

### YASHBAK ASH-SHA'BĀNĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Yashbak ash-Sha'bānī az-Zāhirī, originally a mamluk of Barqūq, made by him Amir of a Hundred and Commander of a Thousand in 800 (1397), Treasurer (*khāzindār*) in 801 (1399), guardian (*lālā*) of Faraj, later Grand Dawādār. Following upon the execution of Tanam and Aytmiş in 802, became the real regent of the country. In 803 captured by Jakam al-'Iwādī and on the 16th Shawwāl (30th May 1401) put into prison, but on the 24th Dhu-l-Qa'da 804 (25th June 1402) reinstalled in office. On the 7th Jumādā II 808 (30th November 1405), appointed Commander-in-Chief. Some time later fled to Syria, revolted, beat the Sultan at Bilbais, but, abandoned by the Syrian Amirs, was compelled to hide himself in Cairo till Faraj pardoned him. Arrested on the 25th Šafar 810 (1st August 1407) fled, revolted again, finally slain in the battle of Baalbek, 13th Rabī' II 810 (16th September 1407).

BLAZON: *On each of the middle and lower fields of a three-fielded shield a cup.*

MAUSOLEUM, Baalbek, locally known as the 'Dome of the Monkeys'.

Inscription over the lintel of the entrance door, four shields in the corners:

<sup>1</sup> *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 417<sup>v</sup>-419<sup>v</sup>) and s.v. Yūsuf al-Bajāsī, l.c. 445<sup>v</sup>, l. 8; *Nujūm*, VI, cf. Index; Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 308, l. 14, 314, l. 13, 320, l. 3, 337-9, 346, l. 4 b, 347 t, 348, l. 4, 349, ll. 5 b f., 350, l. 5; Weil, V. 99, 100, 101, 107, 108; Sobernheim, *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit*, p. 28 (of the offprint).

(1) بسمه . . . انشأ هذه التربة المباركة المقرّ الأشرف شيخ كافل المملكة

الشامية

(2) أعزّ الله تعالى انصاره وجعلها وقفاً محبباً على المقرّ الأشرف المرحوم يشبك

(3) تغمده الله برحمته ومن جاوره المقرّ المرحوم جركس وكان الفراغ فى سنة

اثنى عشرة وثمانمئة

(4) وكان المشيد شيخ القوم جلال

*In the name of the most merciful God. Constructed this blessed mausoleum His Most Noble Excellency, Shaikh, Viceroy of Syria, may God the Exalted make his victories glorious, and made it a waqf for His Most Noble Excellency, the late Yashbak, may God cover him with His mercy, and his neighbour, His Excellency, the late Jarkas. Completed in the year 812 (1409/10). The head-mason Jalāl was in charge of the work.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sobernheim, *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit*, No. 24 (pp. 27 ff. of the offprint).

### YŪNUS AD-DAWĀDĀR<sup>1</sup>

Sh.<sup>2</sup> Yūnus an-Naurūzī, or an-Nayrūzī, originally a mamluk of Jurjī an-Naurūzī, first served under Yalbughā al-'Umarī, then under the Atābak Asandamur, and finally as Dawādār under Barqūq, who, on ascending the throne, appointed him Grand Dawādār in 784 (towards the end of 1382). Took part in the expeditions against Timur in 789 (1387), and against Yalbughā and Mintāsh in 791. Killed at little over 60 years of age, in flight, near Khurbat al-Luṣūṣ, on the 23rd<sup>3</sup> Rabī' II 791 (21st April 1389).

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, and on each of the middle and lower fields a cup.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, II. 470; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 426, l. 11 (2nd ed., IV, p. 291, l. 8); *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus., Or. 3044, fo. 172<sup>r</sup>, where 791 should be read for 771); *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 472<sup>v</sup>); Ibn Iyās, I, pp. 260, l. 8, 267, l. 10 b, 271, ll. 8, 16, 18; Weil, IV. 543, 550, 551.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Taghrībī and Ibn Iyās call him wrongly Saif ad-dīn.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn Iyās, I, p. 271, l. 18: on the 21st Rabī' II; *Khīṭaṭ*, l.c.: Tuesday, the 22nd.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Introduction, chap. Colours, p. 28.

## 1. MAUSOLEUM, Cairo. Pl. LV. 1.

Inscription round the base of the dome on the outside.

امر بإنشاء هذه التربة المباركة من فضل الله تعالى وجزيل عطائه المقرّ العالي  
الأميرى الكبيرى الأجلى المحترمى المخدمى الشرفى يونس النيروزى الدوادار الملكى  
الظاهرى

*The foundation of this blessed tomb was ordered, through the grace of God and the abundance of his gifts, by His High Excellency, the Great Amir, the Magnificent, the Honoured, the Well-Served, Sharaf ad-dīn Yūnus an-Nayrūzī, the dawādār of al-Malik az-Zāhir.*

DATE: On the basis of a statement of Ibn Taghribirdī that Barqūq's father Anaş, who died on the 18th Shawwāl 783 (5th January 1382) was buried in the mausoleum of Yūnus ad-Dawādār, Creswell,<sup>1</sup> concluded that the mausoleum must have been built before that date. This does not agree with the text of the inscription in which Yūnus styled himself as 'dawādār of al-Malik az-Zāhir', i.e. of Sultan Barqūq, who acceded to the throne only 11 months later, on Wednesday, the 19th Ramaḍān 784 (26th November 1382). Consequently we shall have to consider the latter date as the *terminus a quo* for the blazon and inscription and to assume that either Anaş was buried in the building before the dome was finished, or that he was temporarily buried elsewhere and transferred to the mausoleum of Yūnus after its completion. For both cases there are precedents. In any case the building must have been finished during the year 784, as in another inscription at Damascus (cf. No. 2). Yūnus was given higher titles than those figuring in this inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Creswell, l.c., for the inscription and greater part of the translation. Blazon mentioned l.c. and CR. 1889, p. 146, depicted in Artin, *Contribution*, pp. 122-3, fig. 98 bis, who read (very imperfectly) a few words of the inscription.

2. MOSQUE, called 'aṭ-Ṭāwūsiyya', Damascus, Zuqāq al-Baḥṣa al-barrāniyya (behind the Hotels Victoria and Grand Hôtel d'Orient). Pl. LV. 2.

Inscription in one line on both sides of the main-entrance gate.

(1) بسمه أنشأ هذا المكان المبارك المقرّ الأشرف الكريم العالى المولوى الأميرى  
الكبرى العالى ○ المجاهدى المرباطى المثارى السدى السندى الذخرى العونى  
الغياى الهامى النظامى القومى المالكى الكافى المؤيدى الظفرى<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Brief Chronology*, p. 115.



(2) العضدى الذخرى العونى الغياىى الزعيمى الملاذى المخدومى الشرفى يونس  
أمير دو[ا]دار بالأبواب الشريفة أعزّ الله أنصاره وضاعف اقتداره بتاريخ شهر  
سنة أربع وثمانين وسبعمائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. Founded this blessed place His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Learned, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Master, the Treasure, the Helper, the Rescuer, the Shelter, the Regent, the Royal, the Viceroy, the Helped by God, the Victorious, the Supporter, the Treasure, the Helper, the Rescuer, the Chieftain,<sup>1</sup> the Well-Served, Sharaf ad-dīn Yūnus, Amīr Dawādār at the Noble Gates, may God render his victories glorious and multiply his power. During the months of the year 784 (17th March 1382–5th March 1383).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Half of the inscription read and translated by Littmann and the blazon described in Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, p. 51.

3. PUBLIC FOUNTAIN, Damascus, Bāb al-Baḥṣa, adjoining the Ṭāwūsiyya-Mosque. Beginning of the inscription obliterated, end missing. One line of text intersected by shields.

[. . .] إلى المولى الأميرى الكبيرى ○ العالى العادلى المالكى المخدومى  
الشرفى يونس الدوادار الملكى الظاهرى أعزّ الله أنصاره

*. . . our Lord, the Great Amir, the Learned, the Just, the Royal, the Well-Served, Sharaf ad-dīn Yūnus, Dawādār of al-Malik aẓ-Zāhir, may God make his victories glorious.*

DATE: Probably contemporary with the adjoining mosque, i.e. built in 784 A.H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

4. CARAVANSERAI, Khan Yunus, near Gaza, pl. LV. 3, 4.

Inscription on both sides of the main-entrance gate:

(I) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . ذَلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ يُؤْتِيهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ ذُو [الْ]فَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ

أنشأ هذه الخزان السبيل في أيام سيدنا

<sup>1</sup> The text of this inscription is evidently not in order, probably through the fault of the mason. Some titles are repeated, others copied with mistakes, e.g. *al-muẓaffarī* without the *mīm*, *dawādār* with one *alif* only.

(2) ومولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر سيف الدنيا والدين ابي سعيد برقوق خلد  
الله سلطانه وشد بالصالحات أركانه

(3) أوقفه المقرّ الشريف العالى المولوى الأميرى الزعيمى السفيرى الشرفى ظهير  
الملوك والسلاطين المعروف بحبّ الفقراء والمساكين

(4) امير (about one word weathered) التقى يونس النوروزى الدوادار مولانا  
السلطان الملك الظاهرى أعزّ الله تعالى أنصاره وضاعف جزاه

*In the name of the most merciful God. This is the free grace of God, he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth: and God is endued with great beneficence (Qur'ān, LXII. 4). This public caravanserai was founded in the days of our Lord and Master the Sultan al-Malik aẓ-Ẓābir Saif ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn Abū Sa'īd Barqūq, may God make his sultanate eternal and keep him firmly established in good works, and was made a waqf by His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Amir, the Chieftain, the Envoy Sharaf ad-dīn, Protector of Kings and Sultans, known for his love for the poor and destitute<sup>1</sup> . . . the pious Amīr Yūnus an-Naurūḡī, the Dawādār of our Lord the Sultan al-Malik aẓ-Ẓābir, may God the Exalted make his victories glorious and multiply his reward.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Blazon mentioned and depicted: Artin, *Contribution*, p. 122, fig. 98, where it is described as having been 'relevée sur le minaret de la mosquée du sultan Barkouke, à Khan Zumer'. I have to thank Professor Sayce, who supplied Artin Pasha with a drawing of this blazon, for the information that he copied it at Khan Yunus. For a drawing of the façade of this khan showing the emplacement of the blazon, but not the emblems, cf. Briggs, *Muhammadian Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, p. 119, fig. 107.

## YŪSUF AL-BAJĀSĪ<sup>2</sup>

J. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ja'far b. Qāsim al-Bīrī al-Bajāsī, known as Yūsuf the Major-domo, son of a preacher at Bireh, became *ballāṣī*

<sup>1</sup> No titles except 'Sīdī' are allowed to be placed between the surname composed of ad-dīn and the proper name of an amir. The position of the intrusive phrase *ẓābir . . . at-taqī* is quite exceptional.

<sup>2</sup> *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 402, l. 10, 403, ll. 2 f. (2nd ed., IV, pp. 253, l. 16, 254, ll. 4 b f); *Nujūm*, especially VI, pp. 92, l. 6, 115, l. 21, 167, l. 4 f., 183, l. 3, 217, ll. 5, 18, 220, l. 22-222, l. 4, 291, l. 16-292, l. 5; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Cairo, III, fo. 445<sup>r</sup>-448<sup>v</sup>); Weil, V. 116, n. 1; *CLA. Égypte*, I. 314 f., 333, 404.

of Shaikh 'Alī, District Officer of Damascus (*kāshif barr Dimishq*), in Dhu-l-Ḥijja 803 (July–August 1401) served as Major-domo of the Marshal Sūdūn Ṭāz, afterwards became Major-domo of Bajās, after whose retirement he passed into the service of Taghrībirdī, the father of the historian; on the 4th Rajab 807 (6th January 1405) succeeded Ibrahīm b. Ghurāb as Major-domo, in Sha'bān 809 (began 11th January 1407) appointed Vizier and Keeper of the Privy Purse and finally District Officer of the Northern District of Egypt (*kāshif al-wajh al-bahrī*) in addition to his post of Major-domo; arrested early in Jumādā I 812, executed the 11th Jumādā II<sup>1</sup> of the same year (21st October 1409).

BLAZON: *On upper field a pen-box, on middle field a scimitar with sword-knot and bands, on lower field emblem No. 26.*

MADRASA, Cairo.

The blazon of Yusuf the Major-domo was effaced in 812 by Sultan Faraj,<sup>2</sup> but one shield has escaped the notice of his masons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reproduced: Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture*, fig. 185.

### YŪSUF AZ-ZĀHIRĪ

BLAZON: *Upper field blank, on middle field a cup crossed by a sword, on lower field a cup.*

SLAB OF MARBLE at a public fountain in the Main Bazaar, Hama. Pl. LIII. 2.

Two shields below the inscription, an inscribed shield above it.<sup>3</sup>

(1) بسمه . . . أنشأ هذا السبيل المبارك المقرّ العالي

(2) المولى السيّد الأشرفى المالكي المخدمى يوسف<sup>4</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 402, l. 10: Jumādā I.

<sup>2</sup> A well-known passage in *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 402, l. 6 b, ورنكه ثم . . . محى من هذه المدرسة اسم جمال الدين ورنكه, often quoted, among others, by *SM.* II a, p. 15 n.; Rogers, *Blason*, p. 96; *CIA. Égypte*, I. 315, n. 1; *CR.* Exerc., 1915–19, fasc. 32, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 33 (2).

<sup>4</sup> The end of the line partly hammered away.

(3) الظاهري اعزّ الله أنصاره وكان الفراغ<sup>1</sup> منه في شهر جمادى الأول سنة

سنة وتسعين وسبع مائة

*In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered the construction of this blessed public fountain His High Excellency, our Lord, the Master, the Most Noble, the Royal, the Well-Served, Yūsuf . . . az-Zāhirī, may God make his victories glorious. Completed in the month of Jumādā I of the year 797<sup>2</sup> (began 22nd February 1395).*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> The text has العارغ.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps 799 (February 1397).

# ADDITIONS

## AḤMAD AD-DAWĀDĀR

BLAZON: *Pen-box on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

COPPER BOWL with spout, tinned over, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, No. 4442.

Inscription and three shields on the outside of the bowl.

مما عمل برسم الجناب العالي ○ المولى السيفي ○ سيدى أحمد الدوادار ○

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb), Saif ad-dīn Sīdī Aḥmad, the dawādār.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned: *CR. Exerc.* 1915-1919, p. 496.

## ‘ALĪ B. BAKTAMUR

BLAZON: *Upper and lower fields white, on red middle field horse with ceremonial saddle.*

GLASS LAMP, once in the collection of the late Baron Gustave de Rothschild, present owner unknown. A copy, signed by Brocard, kept in the British Museum.

Three shields on the neck.

Inscription on body (identical with inscription on neck)

مما عمل برسم تربة الأمير المرحوم علاء الدين على ولد المقر المرحوم السيفي  
بكتمر الحاجب تغمده الله برحمته

*This is one of the objects made for the mausoleum of the late Amir ‘Alā’ ad-dīn ‘Alī, son of His Excellency the late Saif ad-dīn Baktamur, the Chamberlain, may God cover him with his mercy.*

DATE: After the 20th Rabī’ II 729 (21st February 1329), the date of Baktamur’s death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 180, l. 17; according to *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 64, l. 12 ff. and *Durar*, s.v.: 728.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd ed.) II, fig. 292.

Mentioned: Jacquemart, *Exposition de l'Union Centrale*, p. 340; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 182 f.; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 449 (and sketch pl. 192, fig. 6).

### ‘ALĪ B. SHĀHĪN<sup>1</sup>

Possibly identical with A. ‘Alī b. Shāhīn al-‘Uthmānī, appointed Governor of the Citadel of Damascus in or before 882 (1477–8). Died in 891 (1486).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on each of the middle and lower fields a cup.*

LUNCH-BOX (maṭbaqiyya) tinned over, without lid. Collection Prof. E. Nord, German Consul-General, Jerusalem. Pl. LVI. 4.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف الكريم العالى المولوى المخدمى ○ سيدى على  
ابن شاهين نائب القلعة بدمشق المحروسة عز أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-Served, Sīdī ‘Alī, son of Shāhīn, Governor of the Citadel of Damascus, the protected, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### TO ĀQBIRDĪ B. ‘ALĪBĀY

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a ‘pair of trousers’, on lower field a cup.*

### ĀQŪSH AL-AFRAM<sup>2</sup>

Ja. Āqūsh al-Afram, originally a mamluk of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāūn and his armour-bearer, in Jumādā I 698 (February 1299) appointed Viceroy of

<sup>1</sup> *Al-qawl al-mustagraf* transl. Devonshire (in BIFAO. XX. 1922, p. 27); *Ibn Iyās* II, p. 238, l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Abu-l-Fidā’, ed. Reiske, V, pp. 154, 166, 198, 214, 216, 220, 232, 252, 254, 268, ed. Constantinople, IV, pp. 42, l. 14, 45, l. 20, 54, l. 9, 58, l. 19 f., 59, l. 1, 60, l. 18, 62, l. penult., 68, l. 13 ff., 69, l. 11, 72,

Syria, on Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's third accession sent to Ṣarkhad,<sup>1</sup> in the middle of Rajab 710 (first half of December 1310) took office as Governor of Tripoli,<sup>2</sup> in Muḥarram 711 (began 20th May, 1311) joined Qarāsunqur in his flight to the Tartars.<sup>3</sup> Died in Hamadhan in 716.<sup>4</sup> Built a mosque in the Ṣālihiyya-Quarter, Damascus.

BLAZON: *A red sword placed across the white upper and lower fields and the green middle field.*

كان زكه دائرة بيضاء يشقها شطب اخضر عليه سيف احمر يمر في البياض  
الفوقاني البياض التحتاني على الشطب الاخضر

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ṣafadī, *Tuhfa*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 5827, fo. 192<sup>r</sup>–193<sup>r</sup>) quoted in *Manbal*, l.c., fo. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 3 ff., and from the *Manbal* in *SM*. II 2, p. 15, n. 12; Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*, p. 66; Rogers, p. 98, who, against the evidence of the text, attributed it to Ānūk al-Ashrafi, a relative of Sultan Barsbāy; Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 270; Gayet, *L'Art Arabe*, p. 281 f.; Karabacek, *Führer*, p. 272; Artin, *Contribution*, p. 237, who, in his turn, attributed it to Āqtūh, a mistake repeated by P[ier], *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 10, fig. 7; Prinnet, *De l'origine orientale*, p. 4.

## TO AYNĀL AL-YŪSUFĪ

2. GLASS LAMP, Hermitage-Museum, Leningrad, once in the collection Basilewski. Shields on neck and on lower part of the body.

l. 15 ff.; Nuwairi s.a. 710 (quoted by Sobernheim, *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, p. 45, n.2); Zetterstéen, *Beitrag*, especially pp. 46, l. 17, 54, l. 10, 57, l. 17, 81, l. 22, 96, l. 16, 108, l. 10, 130, l. 14, 131, l. 18, 133, l. 20, 134, l. 16, 138, l. ult., 143, ll. 2, 21, 144, l. 4, 145, l. 18, 151, ll. 4, 15, 153, l. 7, 157, l. 3 ff.; Dhahabī, *Duwal* II, pp. 156, l. 13, 165, l. 3 b, 166, l. 8, 167, ll. 1, 12, 168, l. 7; Mufaḍḍal, pp. 453, 457, 507; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 296, 307, 309, 314, 317; Ṣafadī, *Tuhfa*, s.v.; Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā pp. 49, l. 4, 116, l. 12, 119, l. 11, 137, l. 10 ff., 175, l. 7 (in the index Cheikho mistook Āqūsh an-Najībī for Ā. al-Afram); *SM*. II b, pp. 114, 123, 126, 128, 169 f.; *Manbal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>); Ibn Iyās I. 139, l. 7b, 151, l. 20, 152, l. 4, who confused Ā. al-Afram with Ā., Governor of Kerak, (pp. 157, l. 19, 171, l. 17), whilst further confusion arose in the index over references to Ā. ash-Shamsī; Weil, cf. Index, especially IV. 221, 223, 236, 293 f., 308 f.; *Durar*, s.v.

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether as governor or as exile. The first alternative is possibly indicated by Abu-l-Fidā' V. 220 (IV. 60): ثم رسم السلطان للأمير جمال الدين آقوش الأفرم بصرخد, and by Zetterstéen, l.c. p. 145, l. 18: وَأَنعَمَ عَلَى آقوش الأفرم بصرخد, the expressions used in the text being rather ambiguous; the second very clearly by *Manbal*, s.v.: مرخد بطلاً and less clearly by Zetterstéen, l.c. 153, l. 7: وكان مقبلاً بصرخت.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Manbal*, l.c., appointed in 711, served a term of six months.

<sup>3</sup> According to Abu-l-Fidā', l.c., p. 252, in 712.

<sup>4</sup> Cheikho in Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, p. 49, n. 1; according to *Manbal*, l.c., either in 716 or in 720.

Inscription, so far as visible on the reproduction:

... المقر الأشرف | ... [أينا] | ال يوسفى ...

... *His Most Noble Excellency* ... [Aynā]l al-Yūsufī ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Prisse d'Avennes, p. 211; Lamm, *Gläser*, p. 480 f., pl. 205, fig. 1 (without text or translation of the inscription).

Mentioned: Schmoranz, pp. 21, 71; *CIA. Égypte* I, p. 679; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 180, No. 169.

Although Prisse d'Avennes was the first to read the name of Aynāl al-Yūsufī correctly, Lamm was the first to re-establish the name of the Amir, who, in the literature very fully quoted by him, for a long time past had been called Aynāl al-Ya'qūbī. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that in attributing this lamp to A. al-Ya'qūbī, Schmoranz, van Berchem and Wiet only rely on Rogers, p. 114, No. 4, or Jacquemart, *Exposition de l'Union Centrale*, p. 340, according to whom the blazon on the lamp was a *cup*, so that there is a possibility of there having been two different lamps in the Basilewski collection. Whether the one examined by Rogers was rightly attributed to al-Ya'qūbī is another matter which, in the absence of a photograph, it is impossible to decide.

## TO BASHTĀK

### 4. PALACE, Naḥḥasīn-Quarter, Cairo.

Inscriptions and heraldic shields in the sunk panels (*maqālī*) of the wooden ceiling of the western liwan.

Inscription:

مما عمل برسم المقر الأشرف العالى المولى الأميرى السيفى بشتاك الملكى  
الناصرى

*This is among what was made for His Most Noble and High Excellency our Lord, the Amir Saif ad-dīn Bashṭāk, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

DATE: 738 or 740 (1337 or 1339).<sup>1</sup>

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herz, *C.R.* Exerc. 1909, p. 174, pl. XX.

Reproduced: Migeon, *Manuel* (2nd. ed.), I, fig. 133.

<sup>1</sup> *CIA. Égypte*, I, p. 182; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, p. 100.



## BIRDIBAK

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH, tinned over, M. v. Oppenheim-Stiftung, Berlin.

Shields on the border and one in the centre of the dish.

Inscription round the shield in the centre.

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف العالی المولوی المخدمی السیفی بردبك عزّ أنصاره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-Served, Saif ad-dīn Birdibak, may his victories be glorious.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

BIRDIBAK AZ-ZĀHIRĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Birdibak al-Fārisī, called *al-Bashmaqḍār*, i.e. shoe-bearer, a mamluk of al-Malik az-Zāhir Jaqmaq, dubbed Amīr of Ten by his master, became Amīr of Forty and Second *ra's nauba* under Aynāl, leader of the Mecca caravan, Grand Chamberlain (*hājib al-ḥujjāb*), appointed Governor of Aleppo under Khushqadam, arrested and exiled to Jerusalem, returned to Aleppo as Governor, twice Viceroy of Syria. Died in Damascus either in Muḥarram or in Ṣafar 875 (July–August 1470).

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

COPPER DISH, in 1880 in the possession of A. Baudry, Cairo, present owner unknown.

Two inscriptions; the longer one runs as follows:

مما عمل برسم المقرّ الأشرف الکريم العالی المولوی السیفی بردبك مولانا ملک  
الأمراء کافل المملكة بالشأم المحروس الملكي الظاهري عزّ نصره

*This is one of the objects made for His Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our*

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, VII, cf. Index; *Manḥal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 53<sup>r</sup>); Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw' al-lāmi'*, s.v.; Ibn Iyās, cf. Index, especially II, pp. 100, l. penult., 122, l. 5 ff.; Rogers, *Blason*, p. 119 (quoting *ad-Daw'*); Ṭabbākh, *Al'lām* III 59–64.

*Lord, Saif ad-dīn Birdibak, our Lord the Governor-General, Viceroy of the protected province of Syria, (officer) of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāḥib, may his victory be glorious.*

DATE: Between the 28th Ṣafar 871 and Rabi' I 872.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rogers, l.c., No. 12, fig. 32, p. 118.

## FĀRIS

BLAZON: *On upper field a napkin, on middle field a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a 'pair of trousers', on lower field a cup.*

FLAT DISH, National Museum of Arab Art, Cairo, formerly in the collection of Artin Pasha.

One shield in the centre, an obliterated inscription round it.

مما عمل برسم الجنا ب العالى السيفى فارس من طبقة العشر . . .<sup>1</sup>

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (janāb) Saif ad-dīn Fāris, of the Ten-Barracks . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

## TO JĀNĪBAK

Since the first item on p. 131 was printed, M. Sauvaget published the candlestick in *Syria*, XI. 239 f. The full inscription contains an additional section كافل الممالك المحروسة عزّ انصاره *Viceroy of the protected provinces (of Syria), may his victories be glorious*, which proves that Jānībak's master was Tanam min 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Mu'ayyadī.

## TO MAḤMŪD B. SHIRWĪN

3. BASIN, sometime on offer in the Cairo art market. Inscription (A) intersected by circles each containing in the centre a shield with inscription (B) round it.

A. (1) مما عمل برسم المقرّ العالى المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى ا

(2) لغازى المجاهدى المرباطى العونى الذخرى الهامى ا

<sup>1</sup> This is the inscription mentioned on p. 176, s.v. Qānibāy (?) al-Bawwāb.

(3) لعضدى السيدى المخدومى المشيرى الظهيرى النصيرى المالكى

(4) الذخرى العونى الغياثى النجمى نجم الدين محمود الملكى الناصرى

*This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency . . . Najm ad-dīn Maḥmūd, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.*

B. [Wiet] المقر العالى المولوى الأميرى الكبيرى الغازى البدرى لؤلؤ الناصرى

*His High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amir, the Vanquisher, Badr ad-dīn Lu'lu' an-Nāṣirī.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### MUḤAMMAD B. AL-KHIDR

BLAZON: *Pen-box on the middle field of a three-fielded shield. The upper and lower fields of the shield show a criss-cross pattern.*

COPPER DISH tinned over, collection W. A. Stewart, Esq., Jerusalem.

In the centre a shield with inscription round it.

مما عمل برسم الخواجا شمس الدين محمد ابن الخضر [د-ر-ج] والمغفرة

*This is one of the objects made for the Khawājā Shams ad-dīn Muḥammad b. al-Khidr, who hopes for forgiveness.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

### TO NAURŪZ AL-ḤĀFIẒĪ

BLAZON: *On upper field two cups, on both middle and lower fields a cup.*

### TO QARĀSUNQUR

BLAZON: *A pair of polo-sticks on undivided shield.*

TIMRĀZ ASH-SHAMSĪ<sup>1</sup>

S. Timrāz ash-Shamsī, a freed mamluk of Barsbāy and his jamdār, under Aynāl became cupbearer, later dubbed Amir of Ten, under Khushqadam exiled to Damietta, recalled to Cairo by Timurbughā, on the accession of his uncle Qāyrbāy made Commander of a Thousand, in Jumādā I 875 (began 26th October 1470) took part in an expedition against Siwār, in Ṣafar 878 (June 1473) appointed Ra's Nauba Kabīr, in Shawwāl 886 (began 23rd November 1481) Amīr Silāh, in Dhu-l-Ḥijja 900 (began 23rd August 1495) succeeded Uzbek min Tuṭukh as Commander-in-Chief, in Dhu-l-Qa'da 901 imprisoned in Alexandria, half a year later released, reinstated in office, on the 27th Dhu-l-Ḥijja 902 (26th August 1497) killed and buried in the mau-soleum of Qāyrbāy.

BLAZON: *On ornamented upper field pen-box, on dotted middle field ornamented cup charged with plain napkin and placed between a pair of ornamented 'trousers', on ornamented lower field fleur-de-lis.*

BASIN,<sup>2</sup> present owner unknown.

Inscription, so far as visible in the reproduction:

... ي الأمير الكبير ○ السيفي تراز رأس نوبة ا ...

... *The Great Amir, Saif ad-dīn Timrāz, Chief of a Corps* ...

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Mentioned and reproduced: Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe*, pl. CLIX; Artin, *Contribution*, No. 92, pp. 57, 121.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās cf. Index, s.vv. T., T. amīr silāh, T. Altmishī, T. ra's nauba and T. ash-Shamsī, especially II, pp. 38, l. 22, 72, l. 22, 91, l. 8, 104, l. 17, 124, l. 4, 131, l. 7 ff., 135, l. 4 b, 136, l. 1 ff., 147, l. 4, 159, l. 11, 172, l. 6 b, 180, l. 22, 194, l. 8, 201, l. 9 ff., 207, l. 10, 210, l. 4 b, 211, l. 17, 216, l. 7, 222, l. 15, 231, l. 4, 232, l. 18, 251, l. 3, 257, l. 24, 282, l. 3 b, 289, l. 17, 292, l. 14, 296-7, 303, ll. 9, 22, 306, l. 14, 311, l. 22, 312, ll. 8 ff., 25, 313, l. 10, 314, l. 13, 315, l. 17, 316, l. 21, 319, l. 8, 321, l. 20, 323, ll. 16, 26, 325, l. 7, 329, ll. 9 ff., 27 ff., 330, l. 1 ff.; Weil, V. 256, 335 f., 343, 347, 353 f., 358, 361, 363, 365 f.

<sup>2</sup> There is another vessel with the same blazon, but without inscription, Prisse d'Avennes, l.c., pl. CLXV.



# COLLECTIONS

THIS list contains all the collections examined for the compilation of the Armorial Roll, in which at least one Muslim object with a coat of arms was found, no matter whether the objects in question were of sufficient historical or other interest to merit inclusion in the present survey or not. Collections marked with a cross are known to the present writer merely from photographs and rubbings. Those marked with an asterisk denote dealers. Most of the above collections having been visited only once, and the majority prior to 1928, it is conceivable that they may now contain additional objects with blazons not known to the present writer.

ALEPPO:	M. Eugen Marcopoli,	CAIRO-Zeitun:	M. E. Paravicini,
„	M. François Marcopoli, Consul of Portugal,	CAMBRIDGE:	Fitzwilliam Museum,
„	M. Henri Marcopoli,	CHIEVELEY, Newbury, Berks.:	F. T. Dallin, Esq.,
„	M. Poché,	COBURG, Veste: +	Kunst und Altertumssamm- lung,
ALEXANDRIA:	+ M. A. Gamsaragan Bey,	CONSTANTINOPLE	see ISTANBUL,
„	Mme. Sinadino,	CYPRUS:	see NICOSIA,
AMMAN:	Government Museum,	DAMASCUS:	National Syrian Museum,
„	+ Prof. Riza Bey Taufiq,	„	Husain Eff. Siouffi,*
AMSTERDAM:	Nederlandsch Rijks-Museum,	DÜSSELDORF:	Kunstgewerbe Museum,
ATHENS:	M. A. E. Benachi,	EDINBURGH:	Royal Scottish Museum,
BASLE:	Ethnographisches Museum,	FAENZA:	Museo delle Ceramiche,
BERLIN:	Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum,	FLORENCE:	R. Museo Nazionale,
„	Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim- Stiftung,	„	Museo Stibbert,
„	Prof. C. H. Becker,	HAMBURG:	Kunstgewerbe Museum,
BEYROUTH:	Musée Municipal,	ISTANBUL:	Çinili Köşk,
„	M. Claude Prost,	„	Treasury (Top Kapu Serai),
BOLOGNA:	Museo Civico,	„	Theron Damon, Esq.,
BONN a/R.:	+ Prof. P. Kahle,	JERUSALEM:	Palestine Archaeological Mu- seum,
BOSTON, Mass.:	+ Museum of Fine Arts,	„	Muslim Museum, Haram,
BROCKENHURST, Hants.:	H. N. Bowden-Smith, Esq.,	„	H. E. Bowman, Esq.,
CAIRO:	National Museum of Arabic Art,	„	Prof. E. Nord,
„	Coptic Museum,	„	Messrs N. Ohan & Sons,*
„	Library Ahmed Zeki Pasha,	„	W. A. Stewart, Esq.,
„	Dr. Kamil Bey Ghalib,	LENINGRAD:	+ Asiatic Museum,
„	Major Gayer-Anderson,	LONDON:	British Museum,
„	J. Home, Esq.,	„	Victoria and Albert Museum,
„	Dr. Max Meyerhof,	„	C. B. Clapcott, Esq.,
„	M. Maurice Nahman,*	„	R. A. Harari, Esq.,
„	Mr. Ispenian,*	„	Messrs. J. Sassoon,*
„	M. Tano,*	„	J. W. A. Young, Esq.,
„	M. Vitali Maggiar,*	LYONS:	Musée de la Ville,
„ -Matariya:	H. H. Prince Yusuf Kamal,	MILANO:	Museo Artistico,

MUNICH:	Museum für Völkerkunde,	PARIS:	M. Eustache de Lorey,
„	National Museum,	„	Mme. Maspero,
NEW YORK:	+ Metropolitan Museum,	„	M. G. Pauilhac,
NICOSIA:	Sir Ronald Storrs,	„	Messrs. M. & R. Stora,*
OXFORD:	Ashmolean Museum,	„	Messrs. Tabbagh,*
„	Prof. A. H. Sayce,	ROSLAGS-NASBY:	+ Dr. C. J. Lamm,
PARIS:	Bibliothèque Nationale,	SÈVRES:	Musée de Sèvres,
„	Musée Jacquemart-André,	VENICE:	Museo Civico,
„	Musée du Louvre,	VIENNA:	Naturhistorisches Museum,
„	Musée du Petit Palais,	„	Österreichisches Museum,
„	M. Henri Léman,*	„	Graf Lanckoronski.

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NOTE the following abbreviations: BIE. = Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien; BIFAO. = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale; CR. = Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe; GBA. = Gazette des Beaux Arts; JA. = Journal Asiatique; JPOS. = Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society; JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; MIFAO. = Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale; MMAF. = Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française; ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft; ZDPV. = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

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# INDEX

In this index figures refer to pages, an asterisk (\*) denoting the occurrence of the word so marked more than once on that page, e.g. p. 62 f.\* meaning that the word appears once on p. 62 and several times on p. 63. The Arabic text of the inscriptions has not been indexed. In arranging the index no notice has been taken of the Arabic article. Words either restored or doubtful and marked accordingly in the text appear in the index usually without any brackets, question-marks, or like signs.

Buildings are indexed under the names of the builders, unless known by a designation in which the name of the founder does not appear; in the latter case the name is indexed under the town in which the building is to be found.

Emblems and heraldic devices are indexed under the English names given them in the Armorial Roll, those unnamed under 'emblems'.

Public collections are indexed under the names of the respective towns, private ones under the names of their owners. All collections examined during the compilation of this book also appear in the list on p. 269 f.

Titles of offices are given in their Arabic form with cross-references from the English translation.

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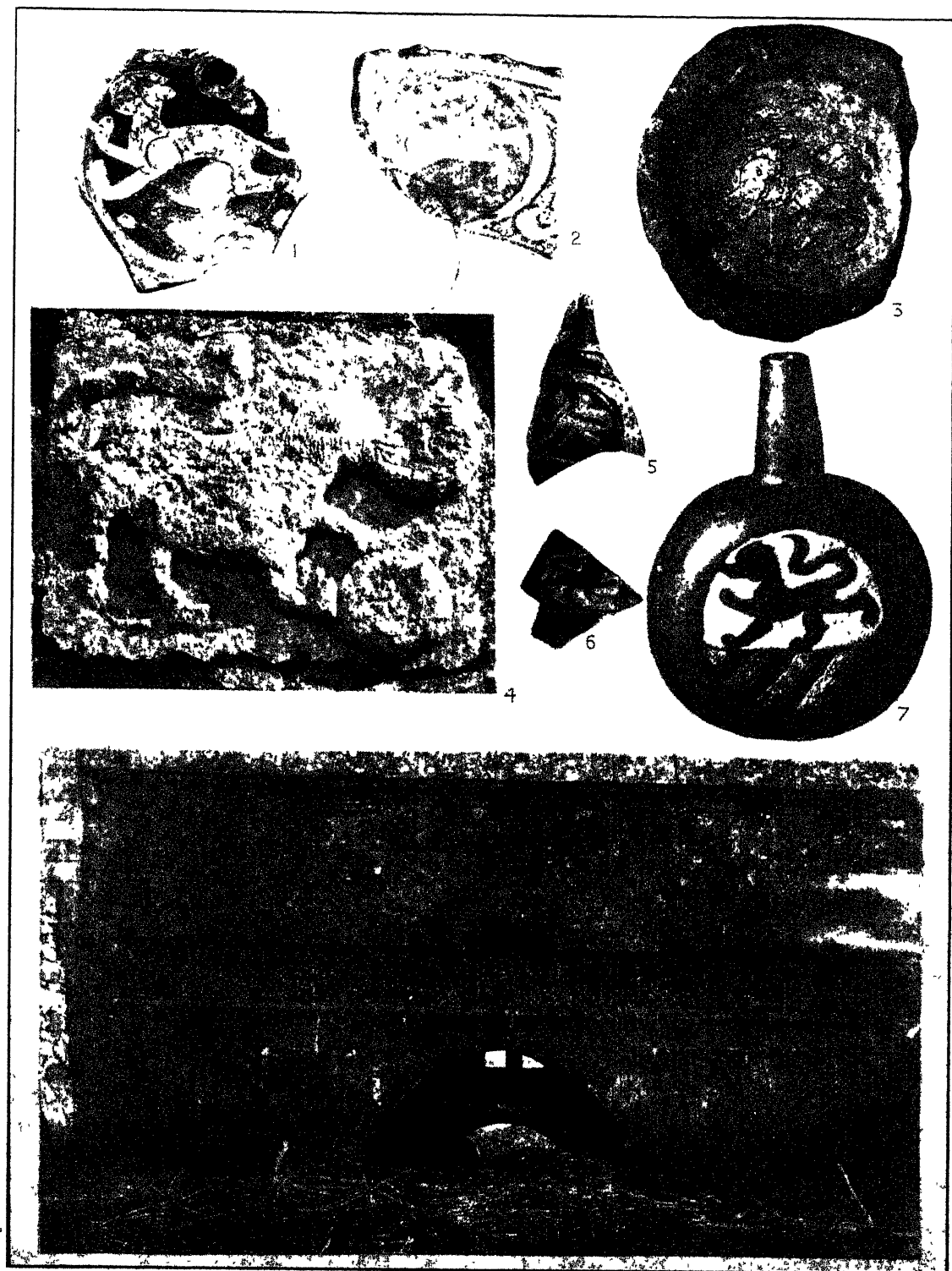
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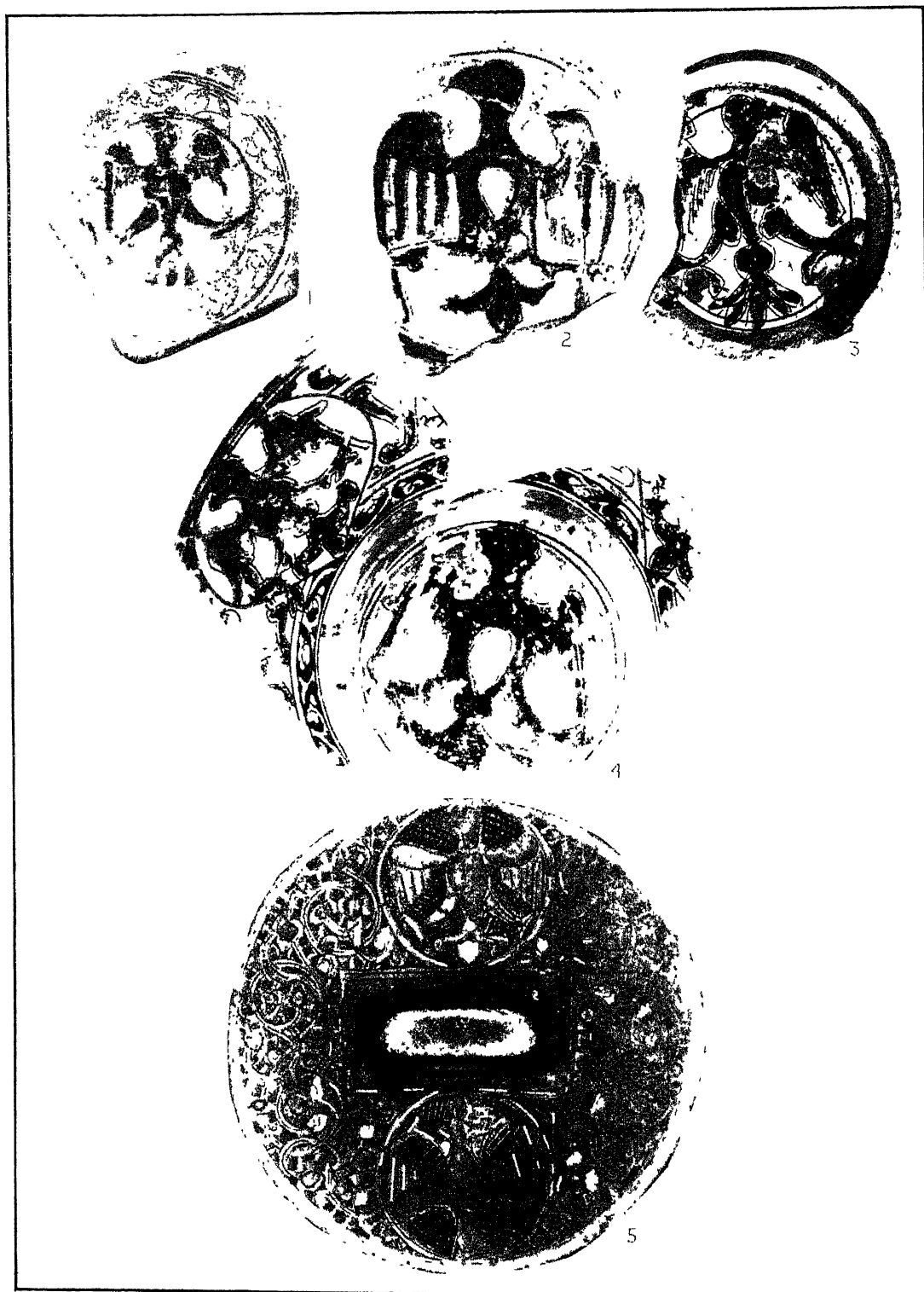


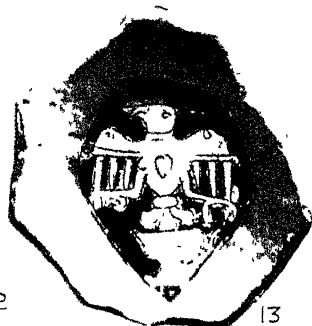
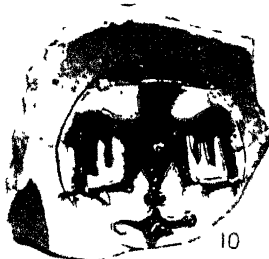
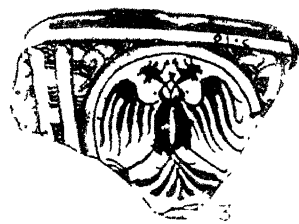
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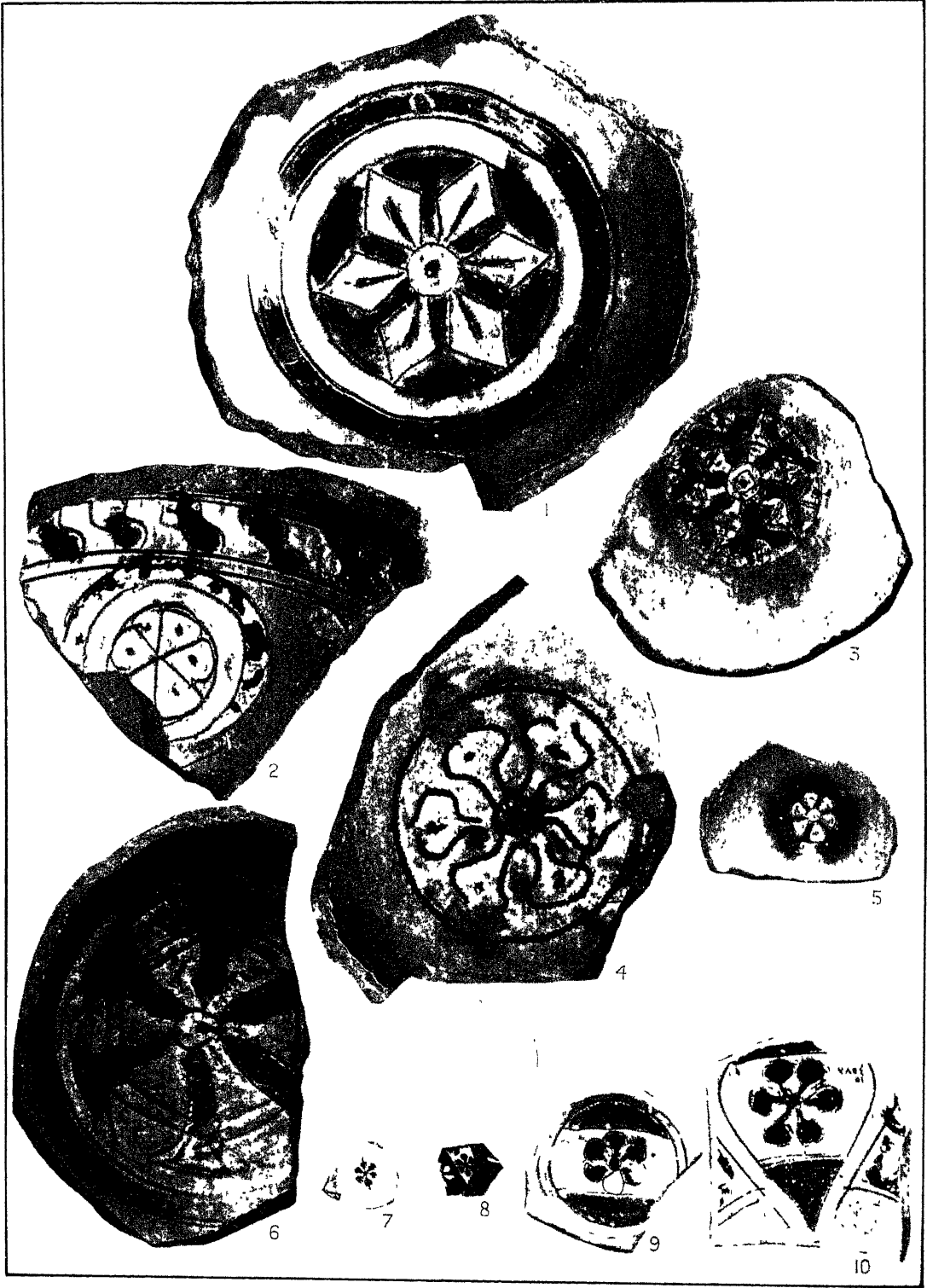
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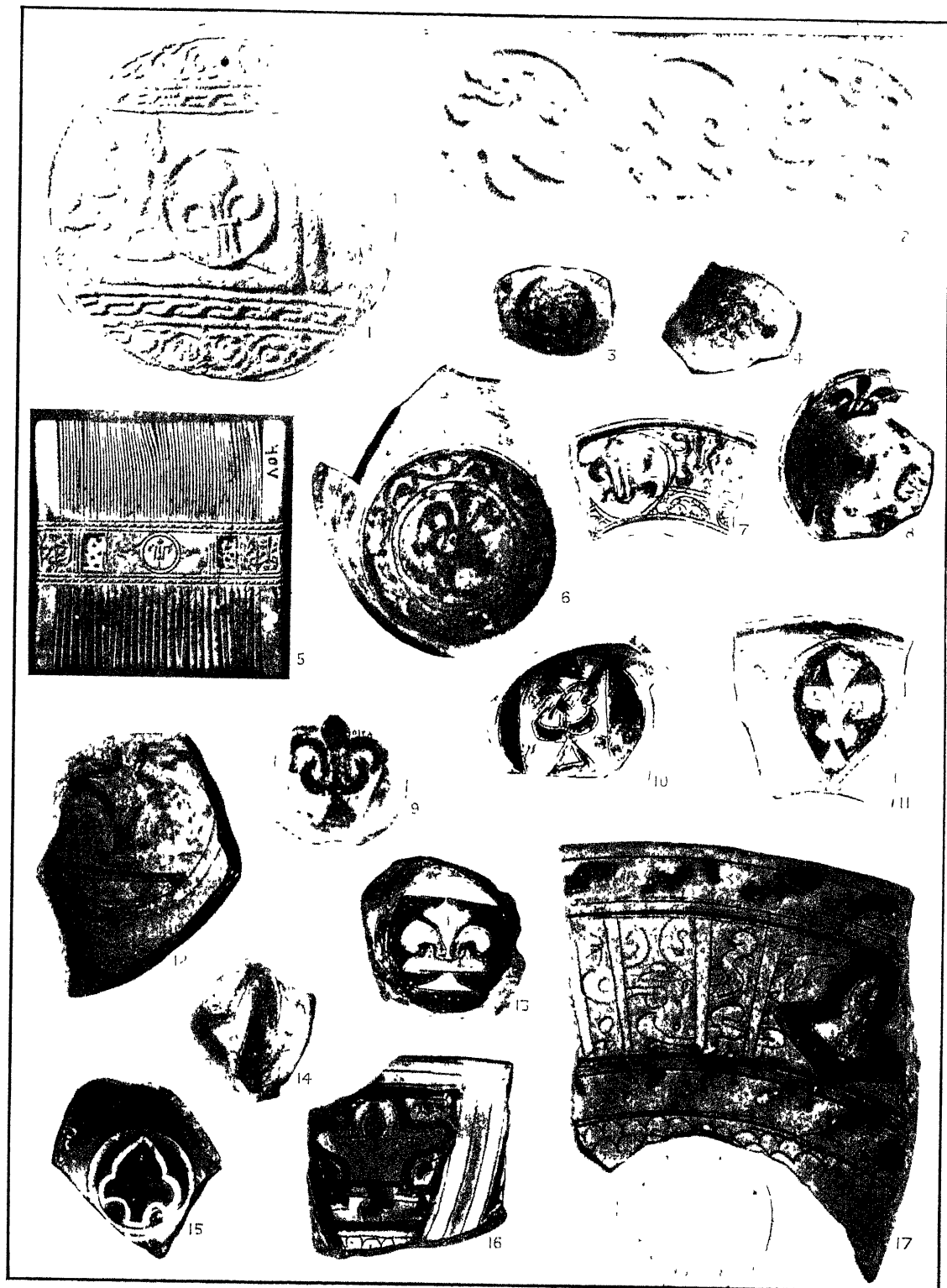
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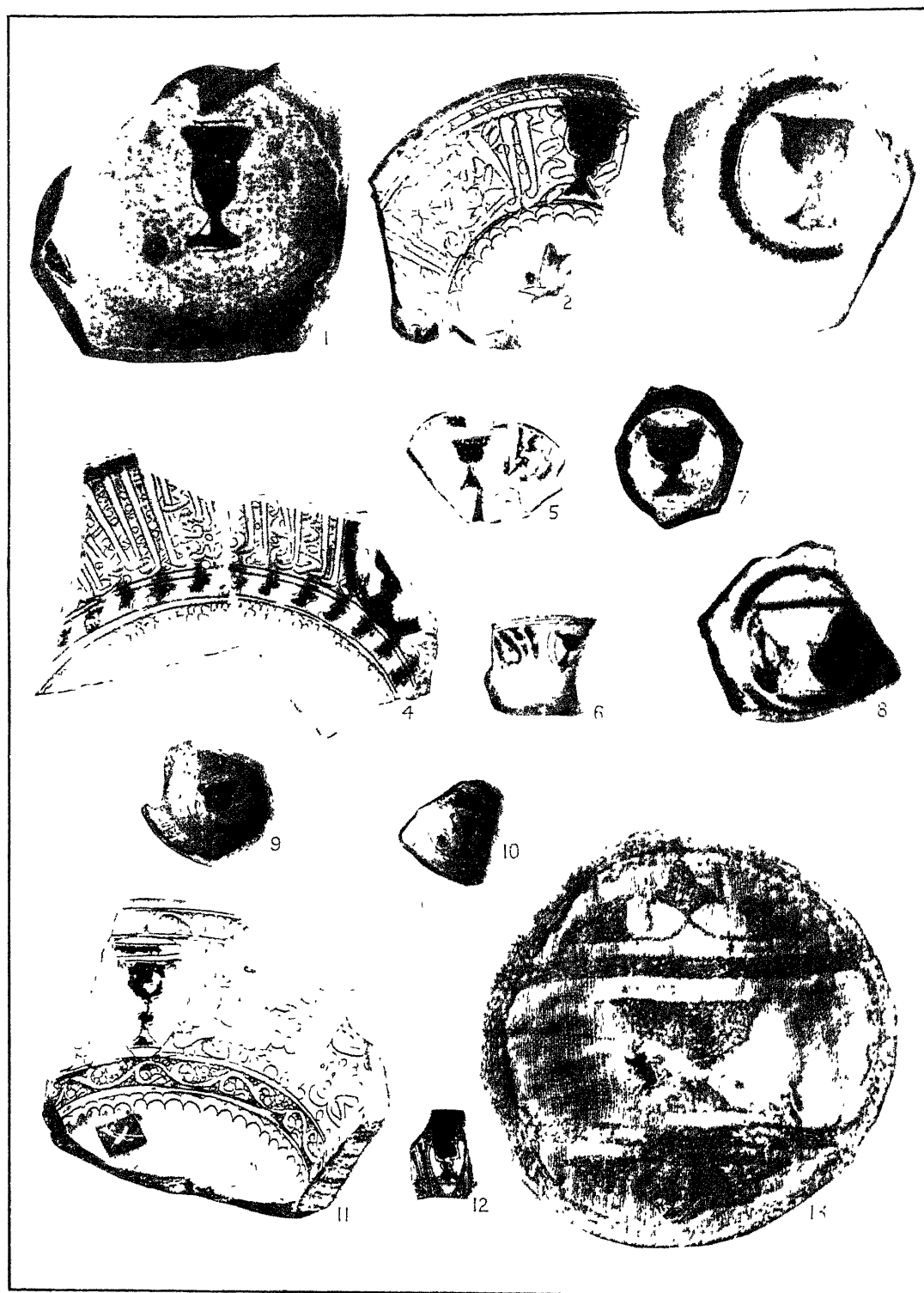




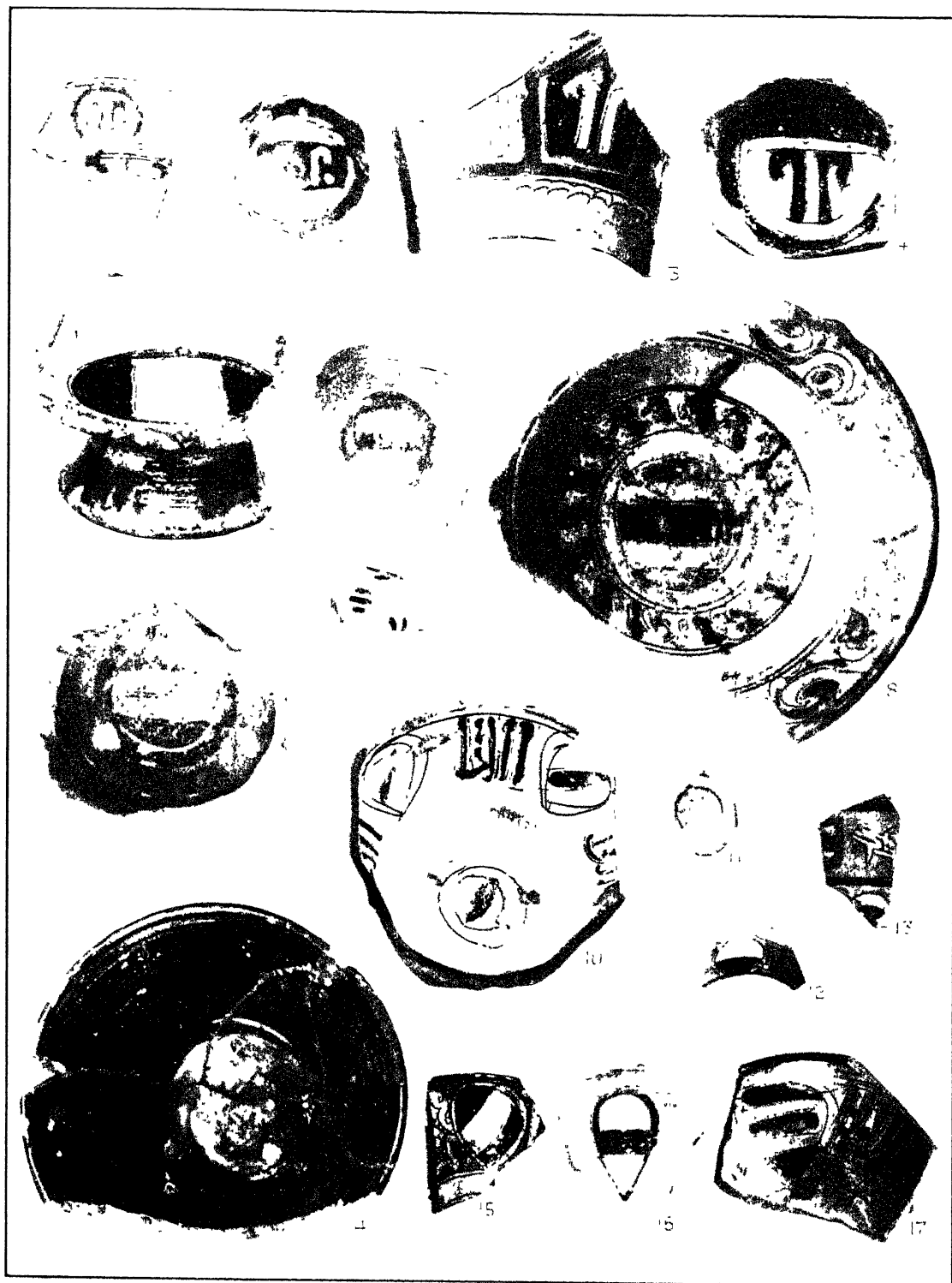


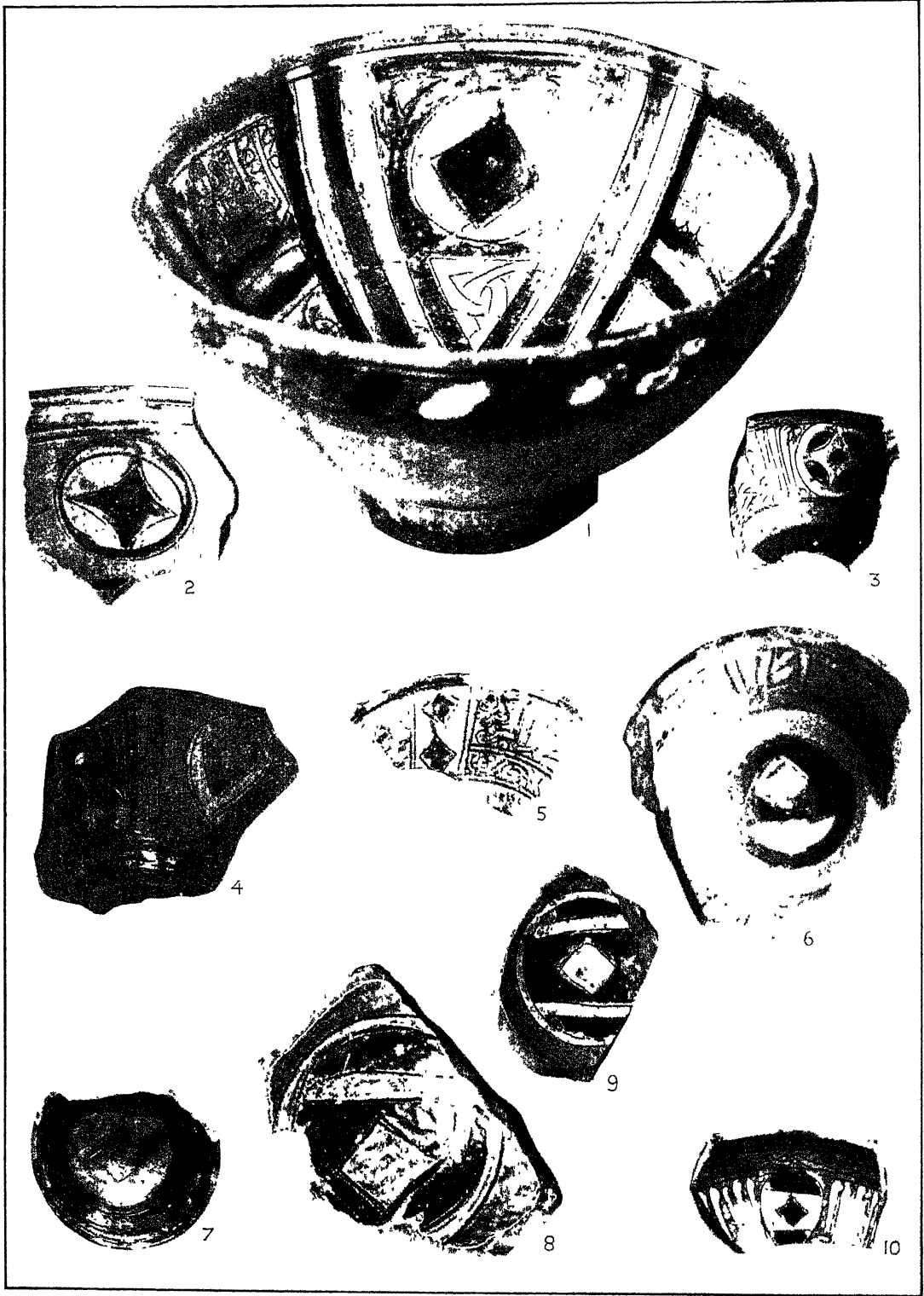


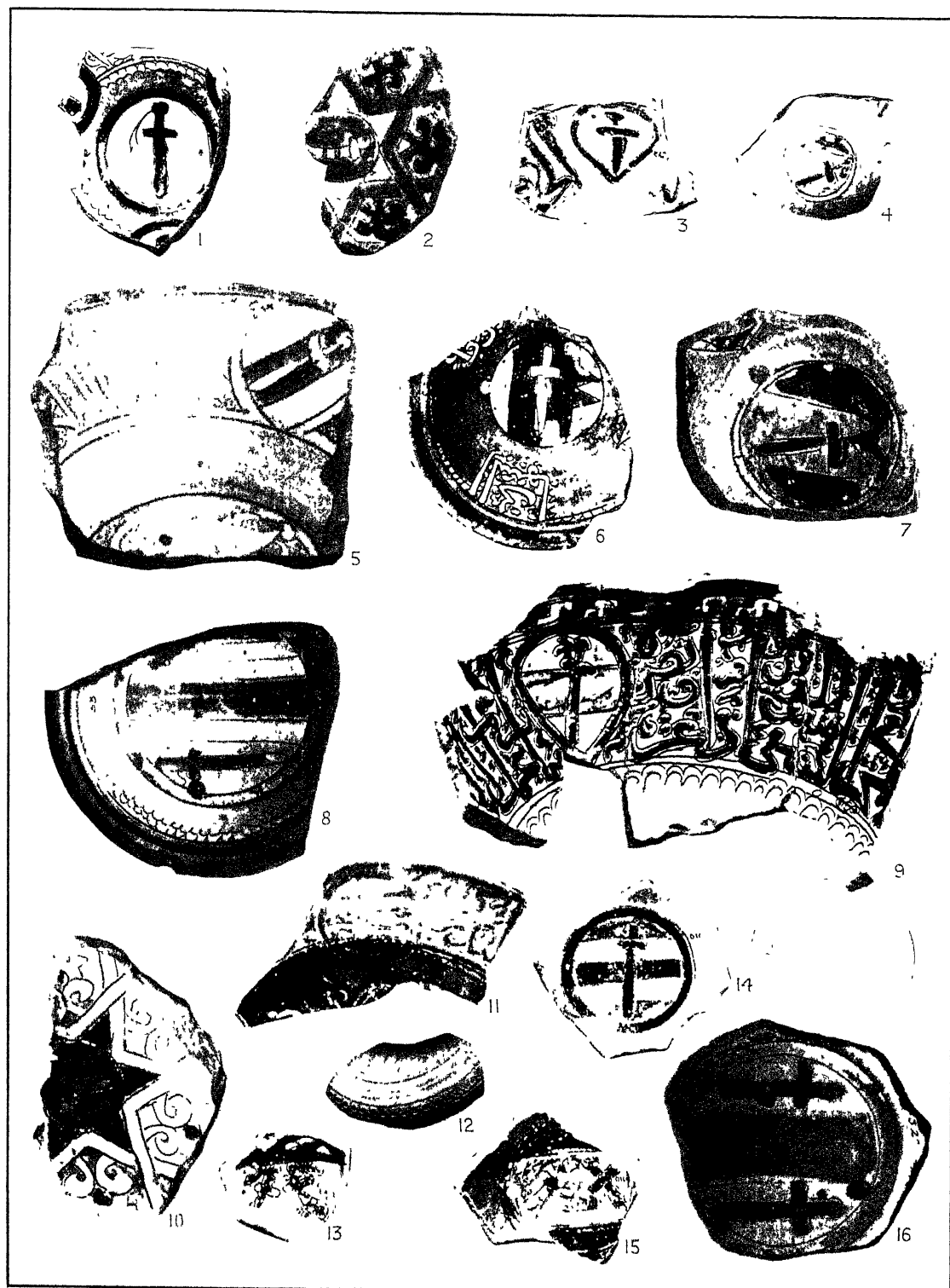


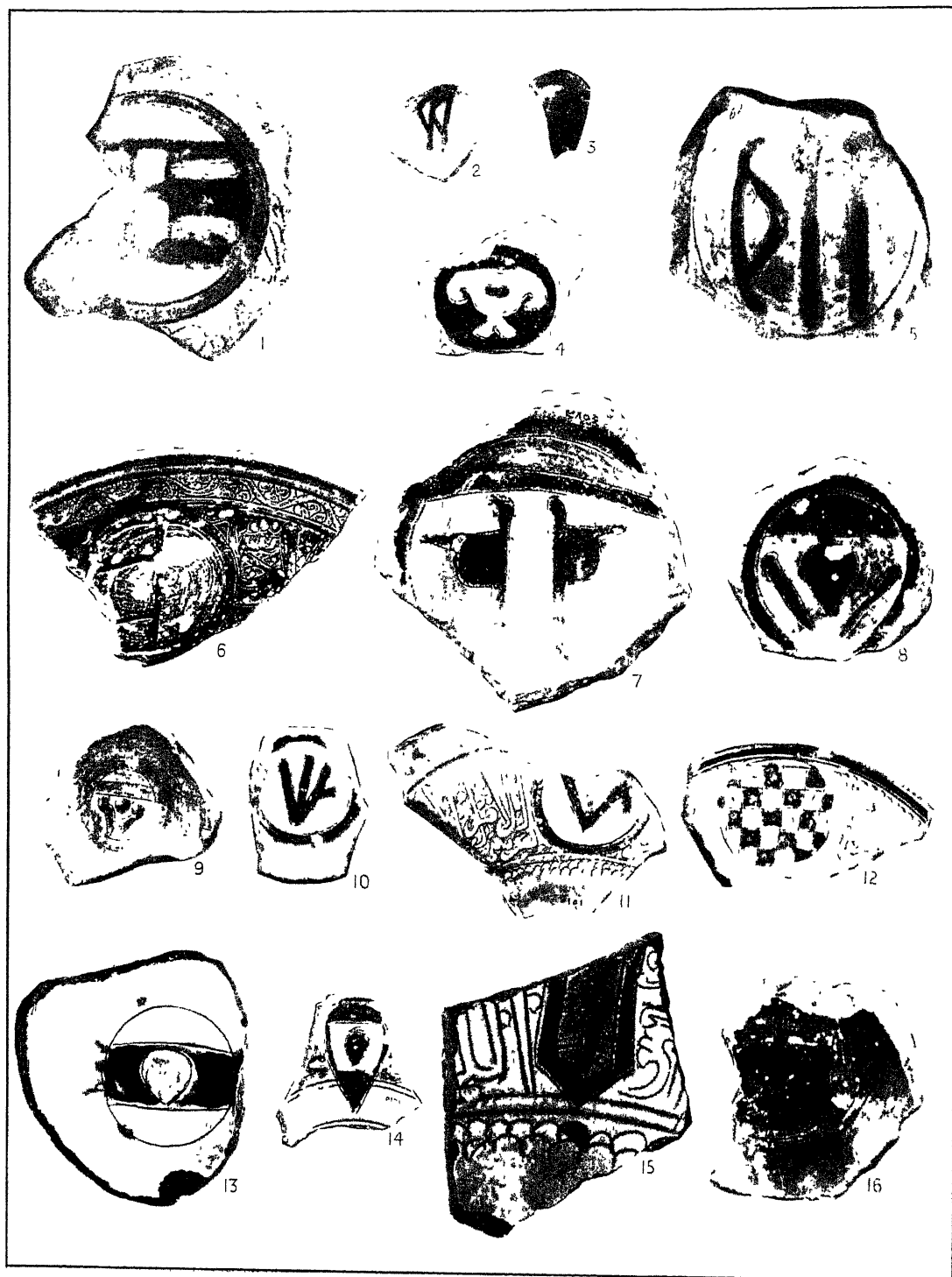


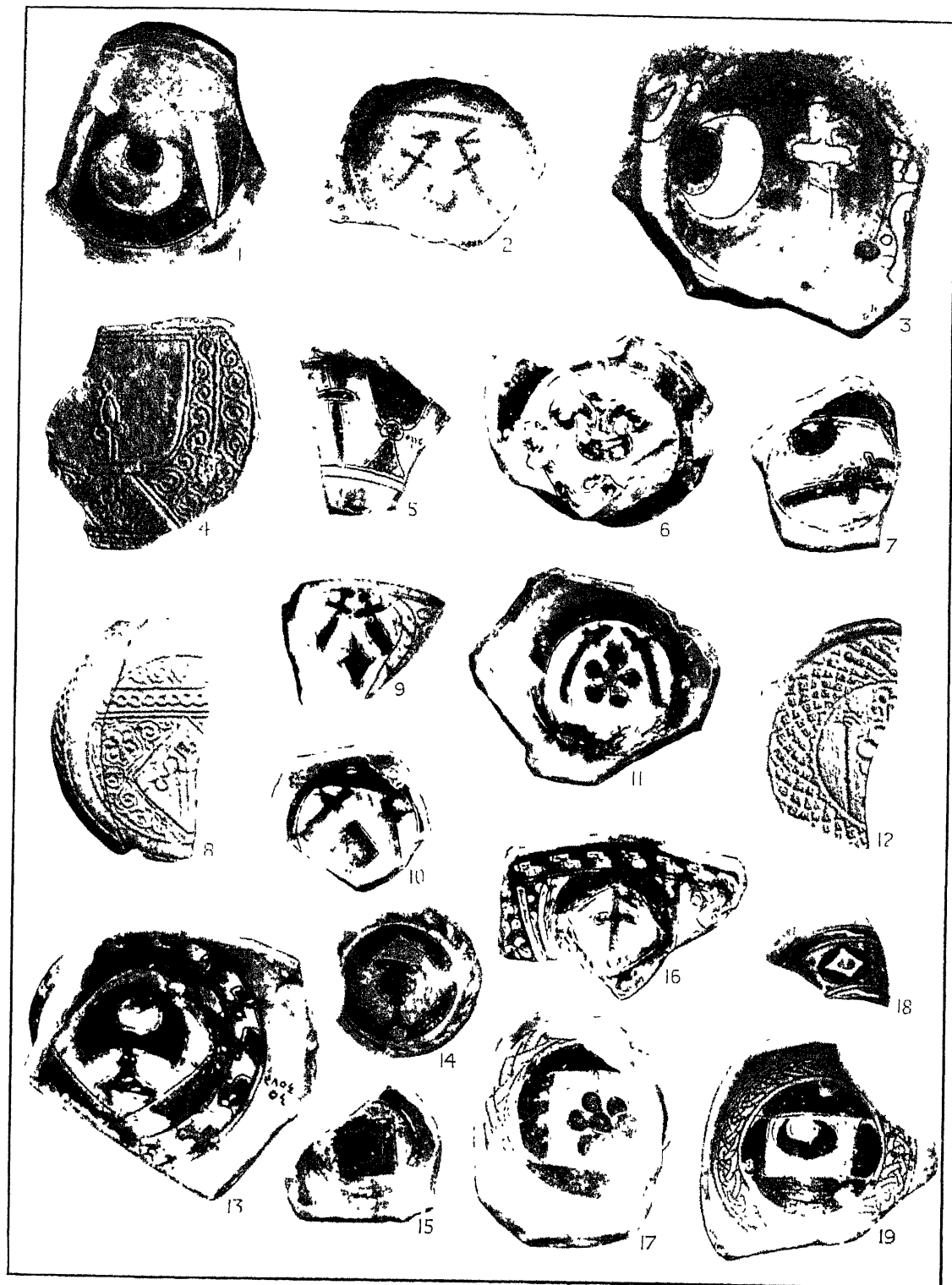


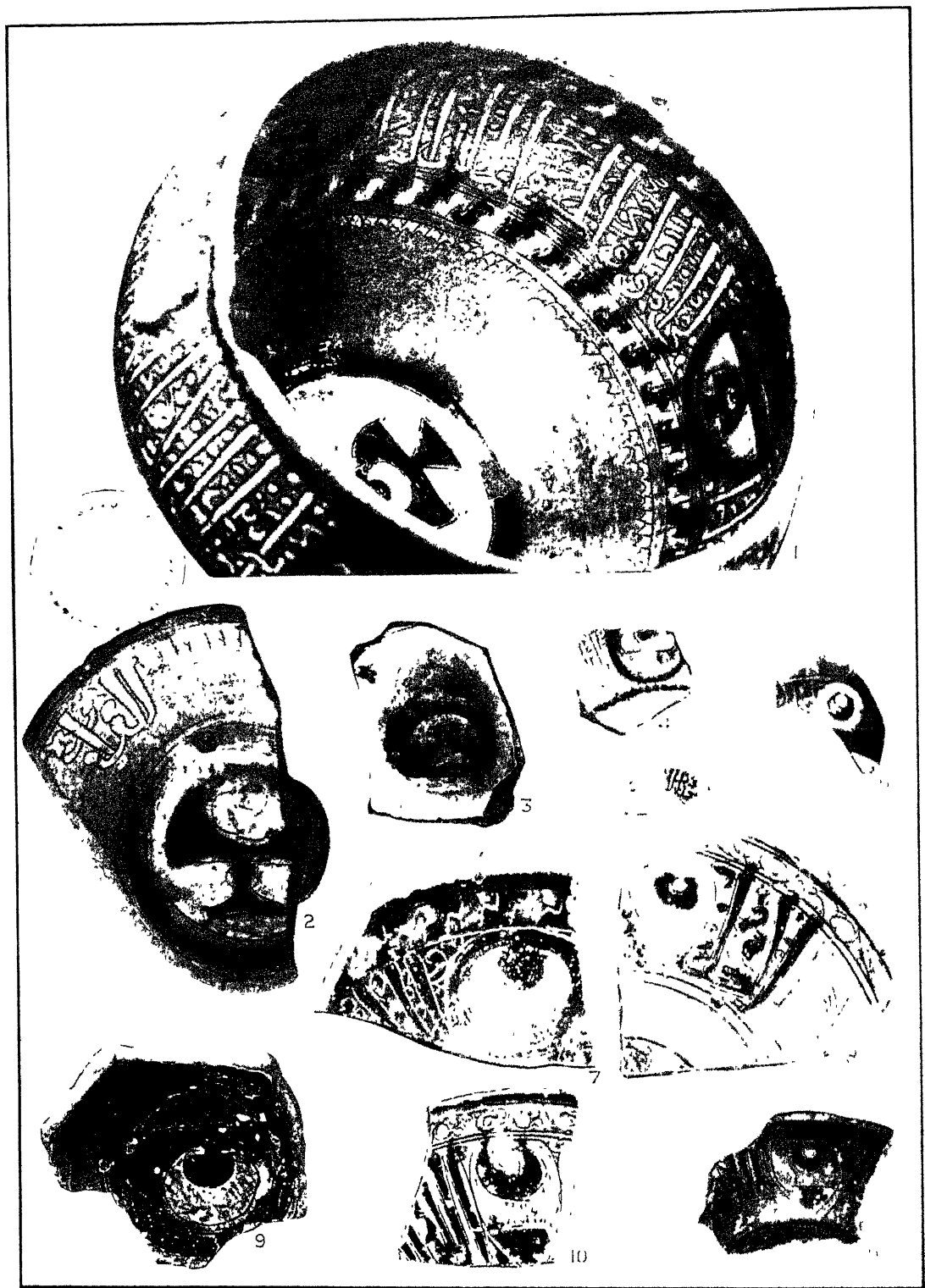








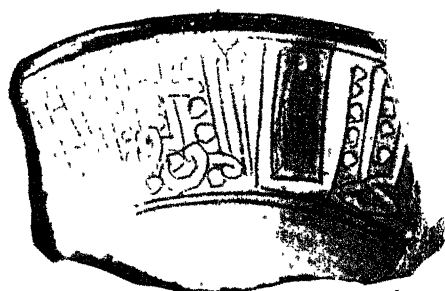




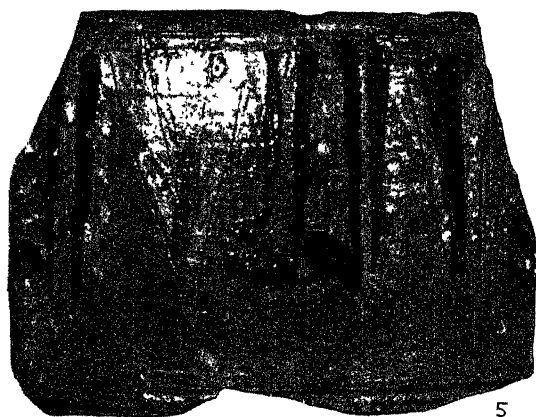


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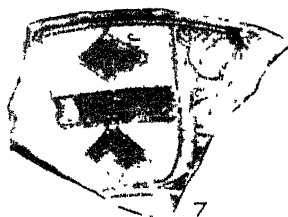
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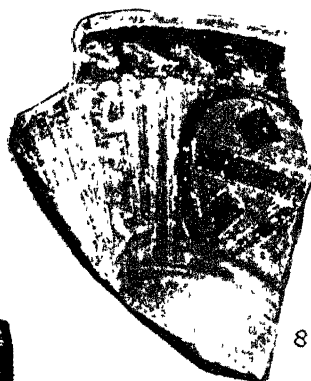
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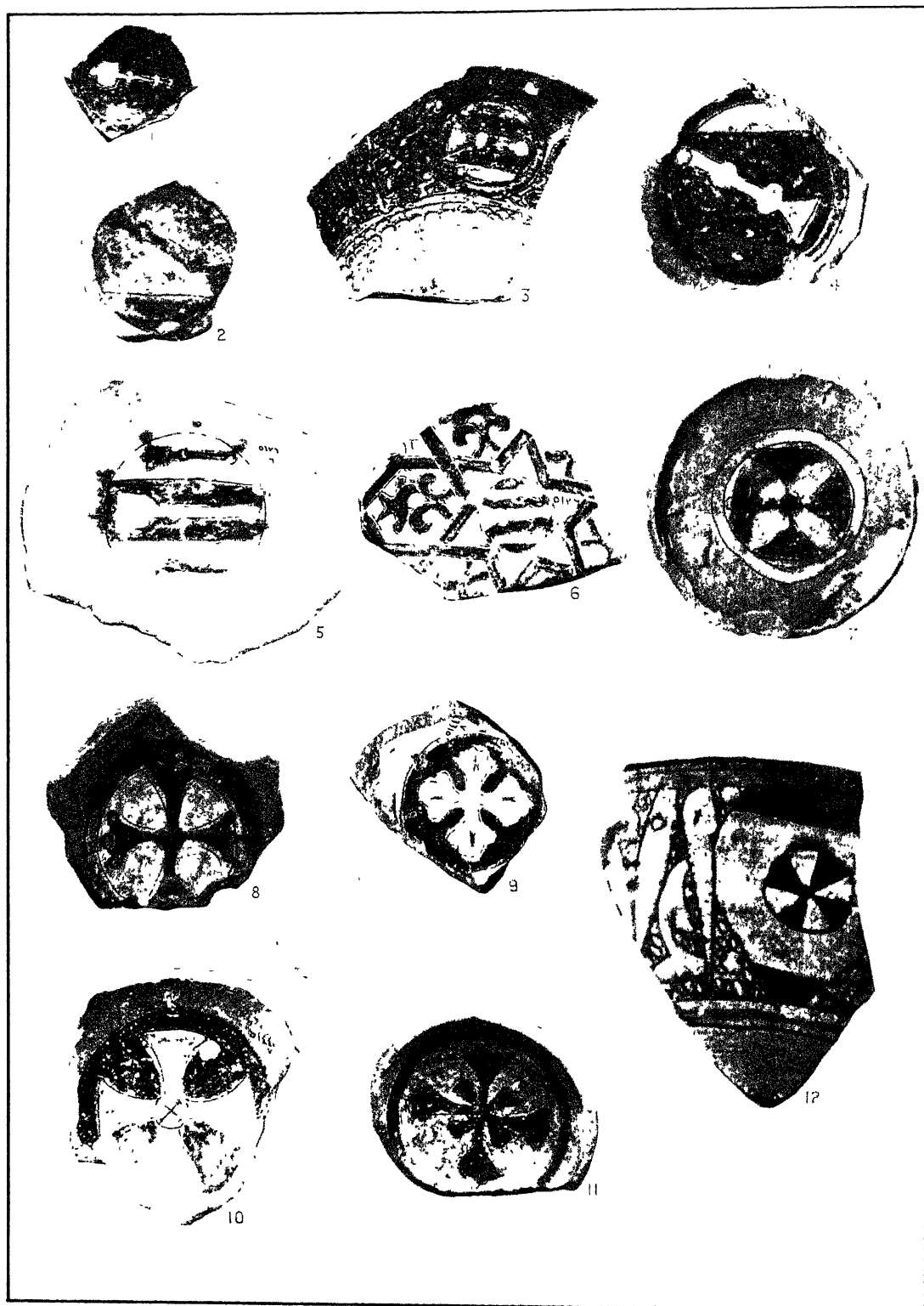
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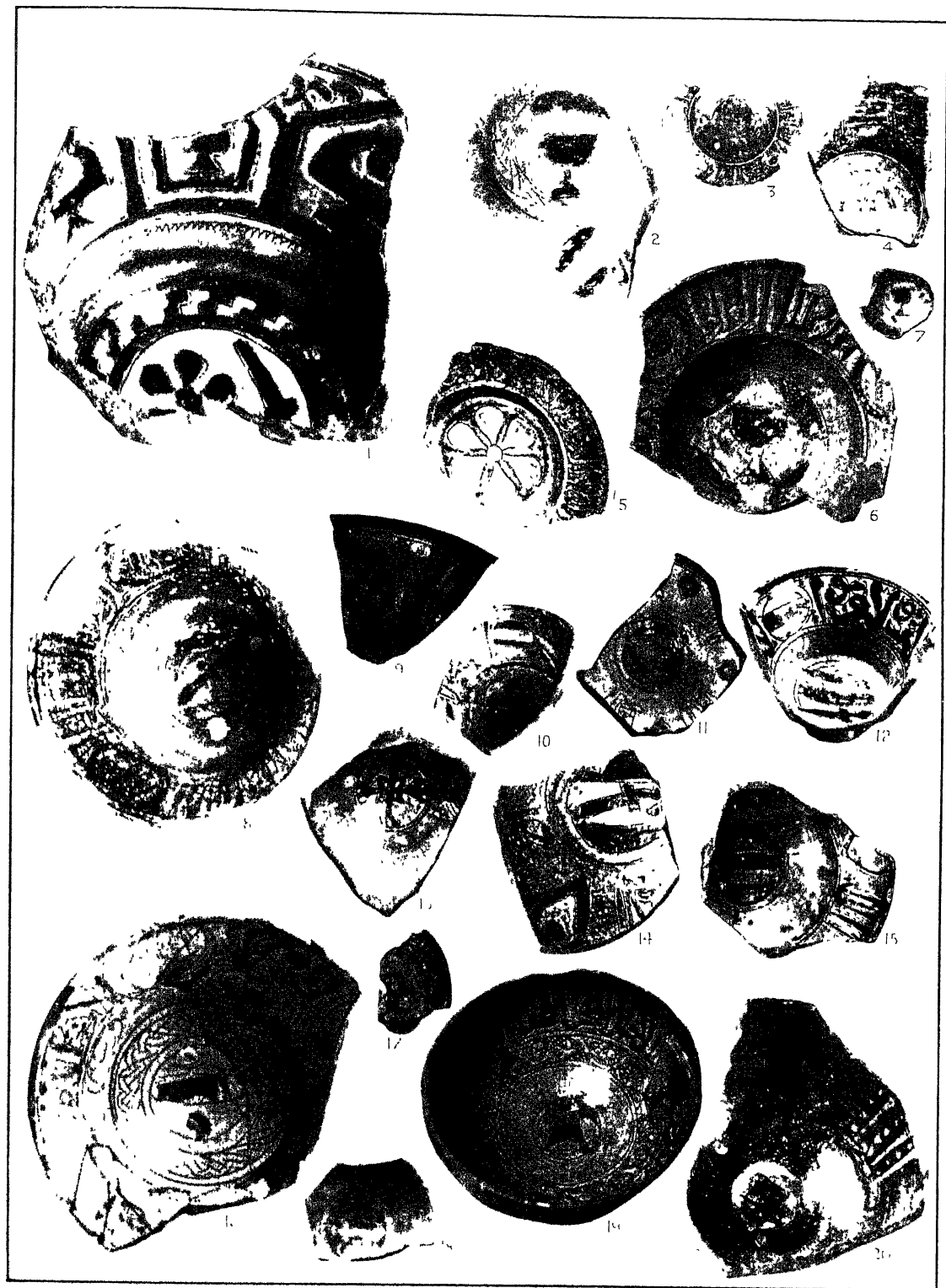
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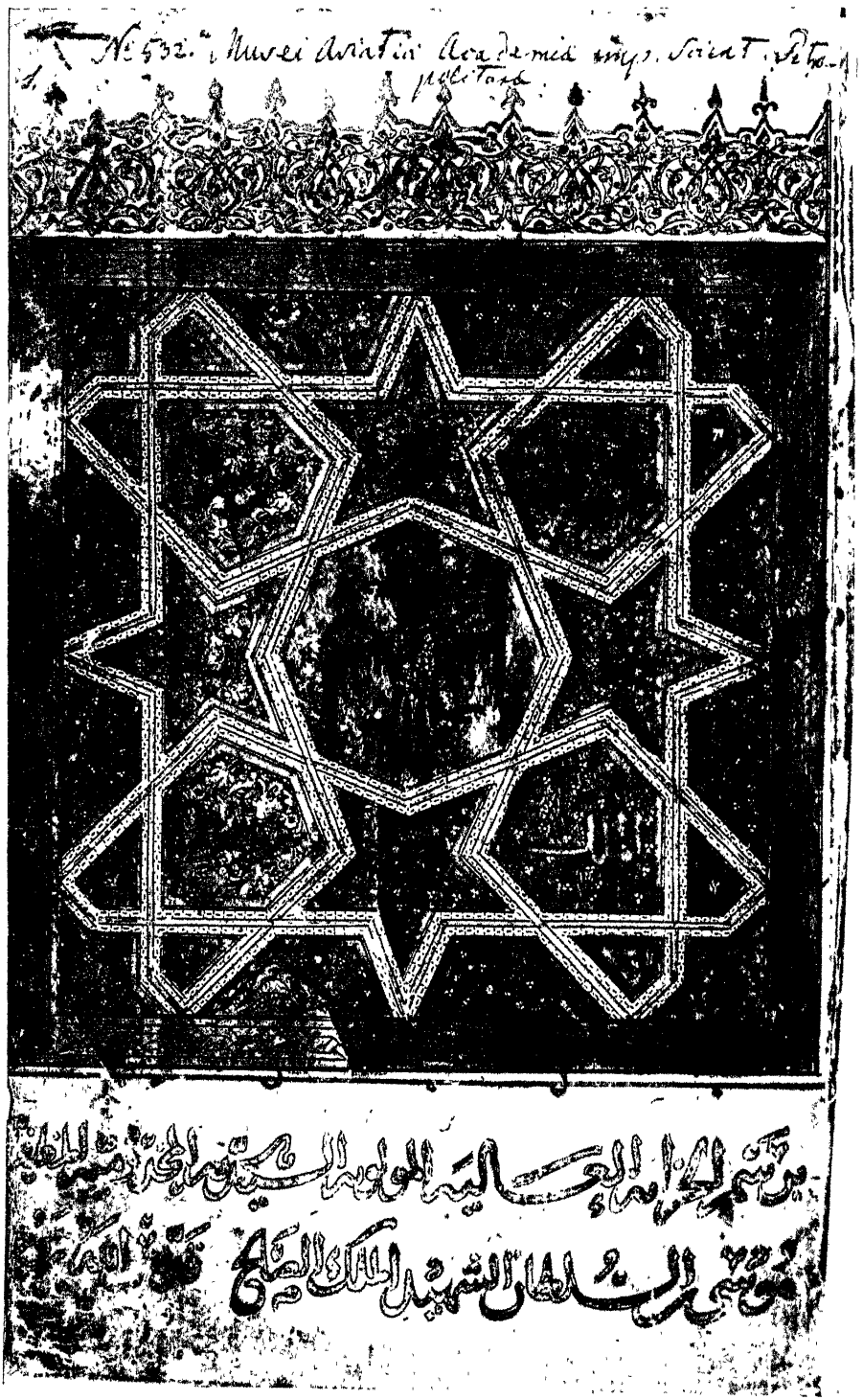


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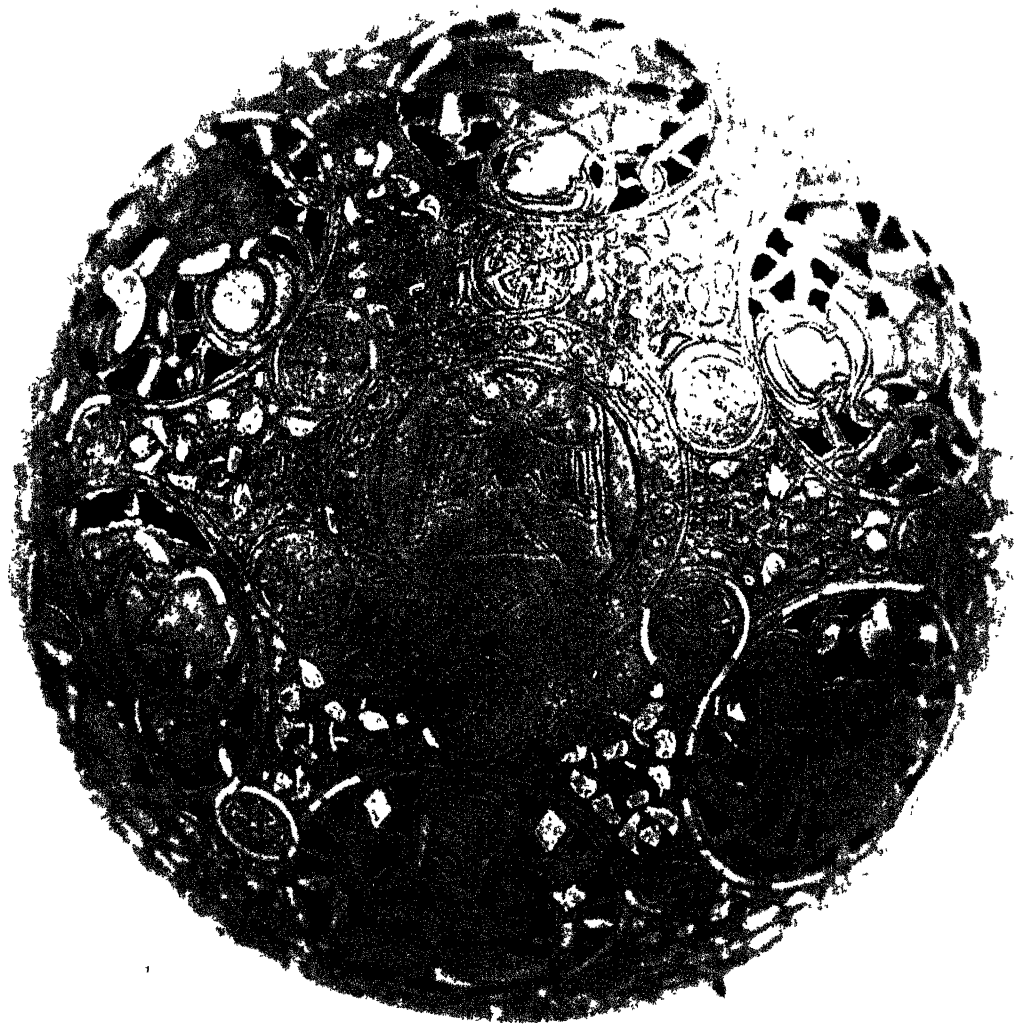
















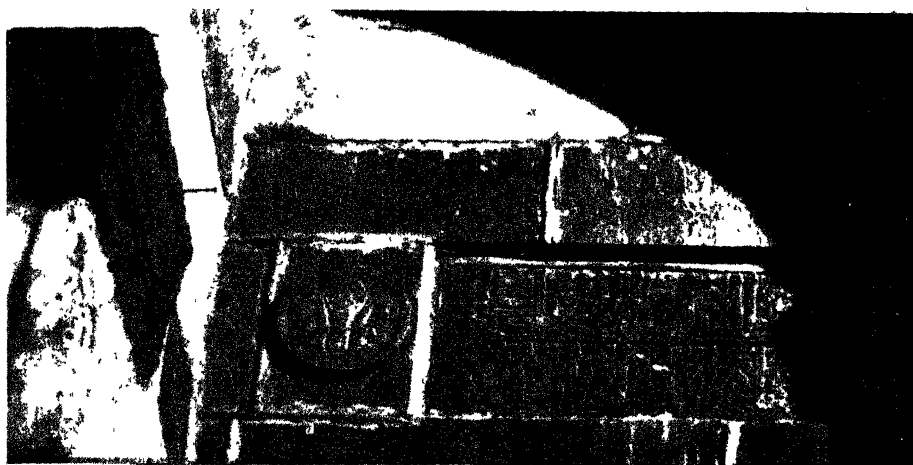
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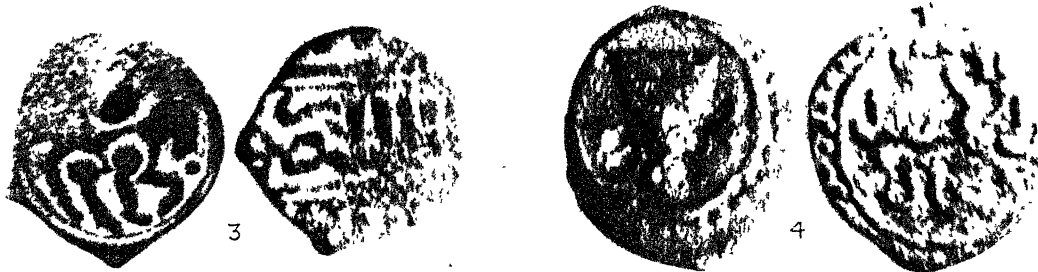
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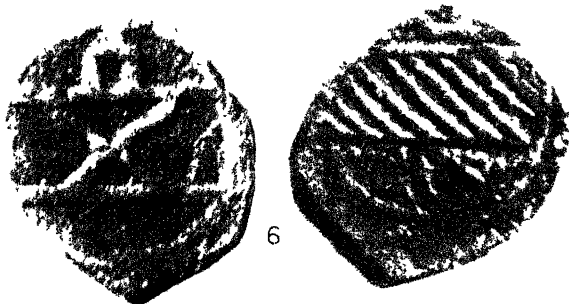


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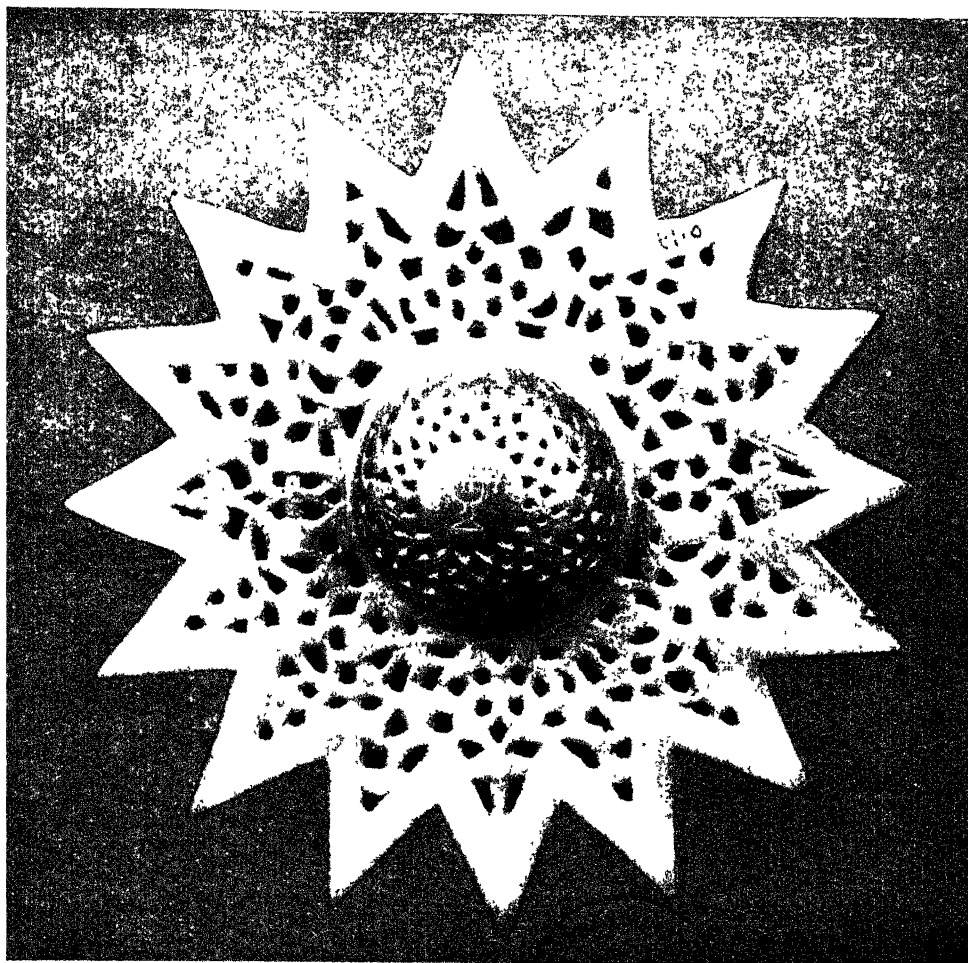


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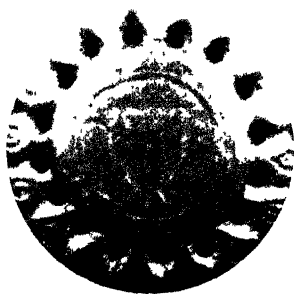


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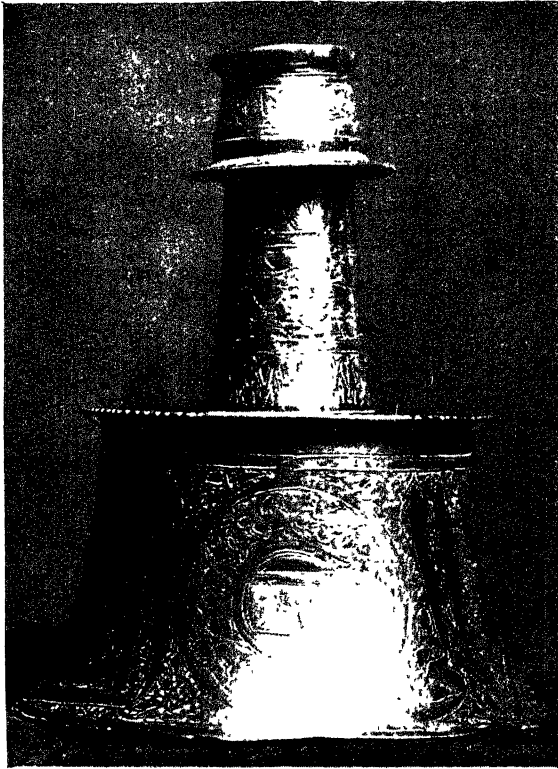




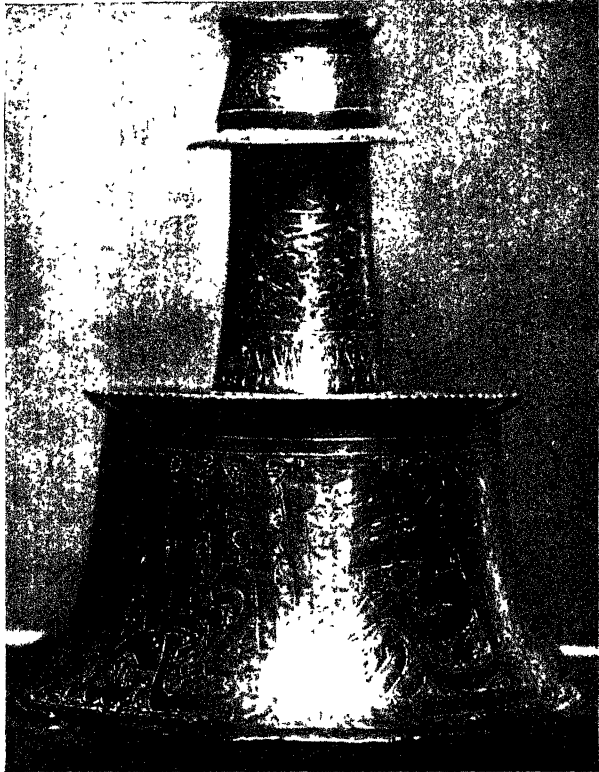
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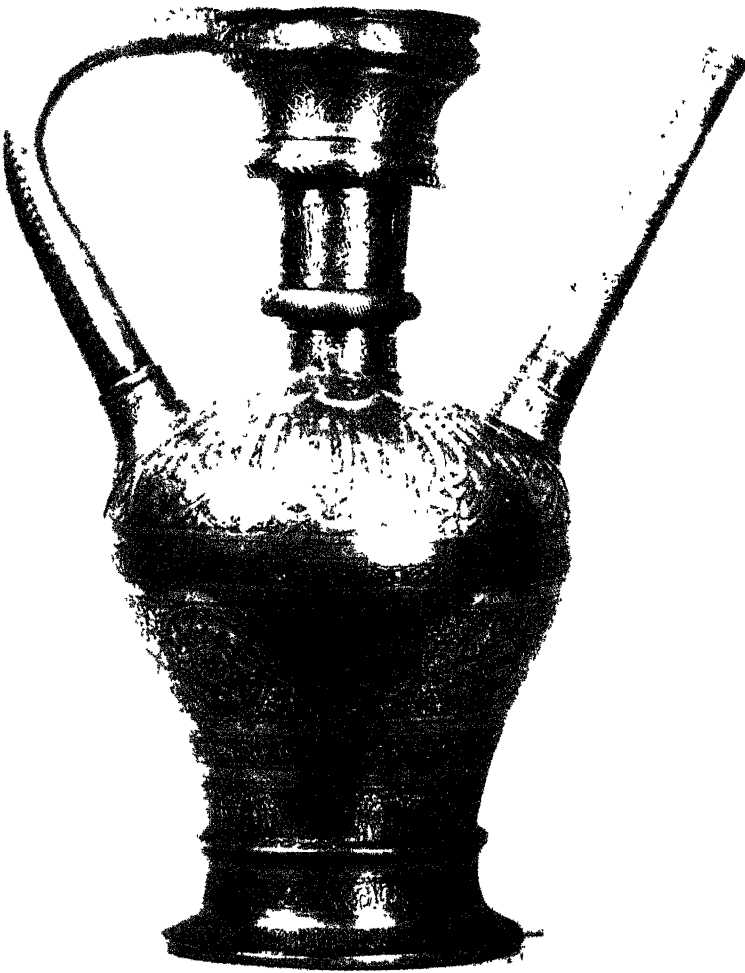
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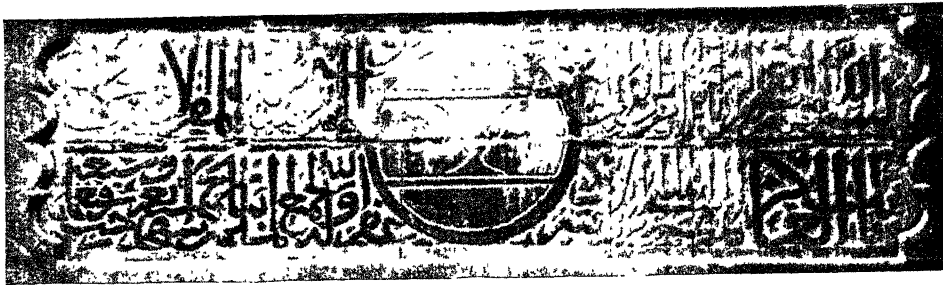
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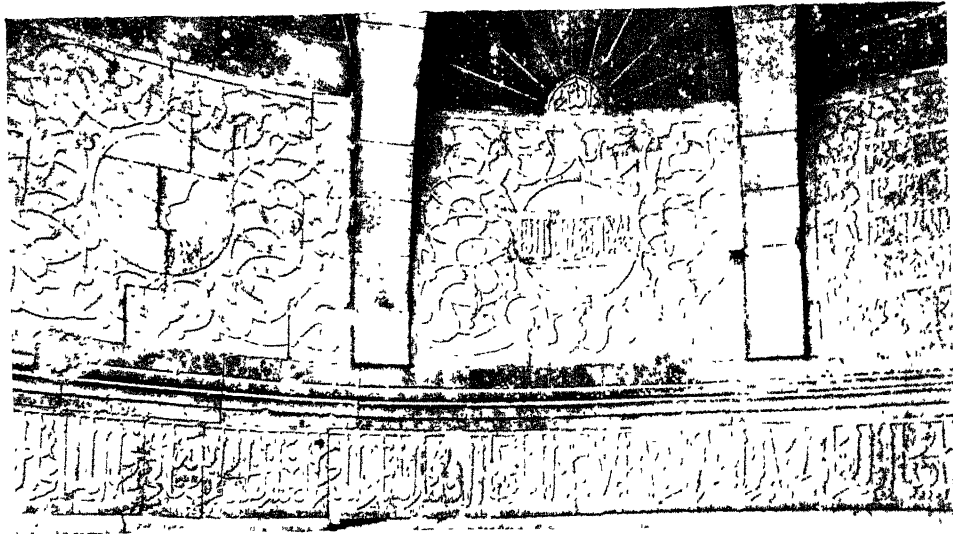
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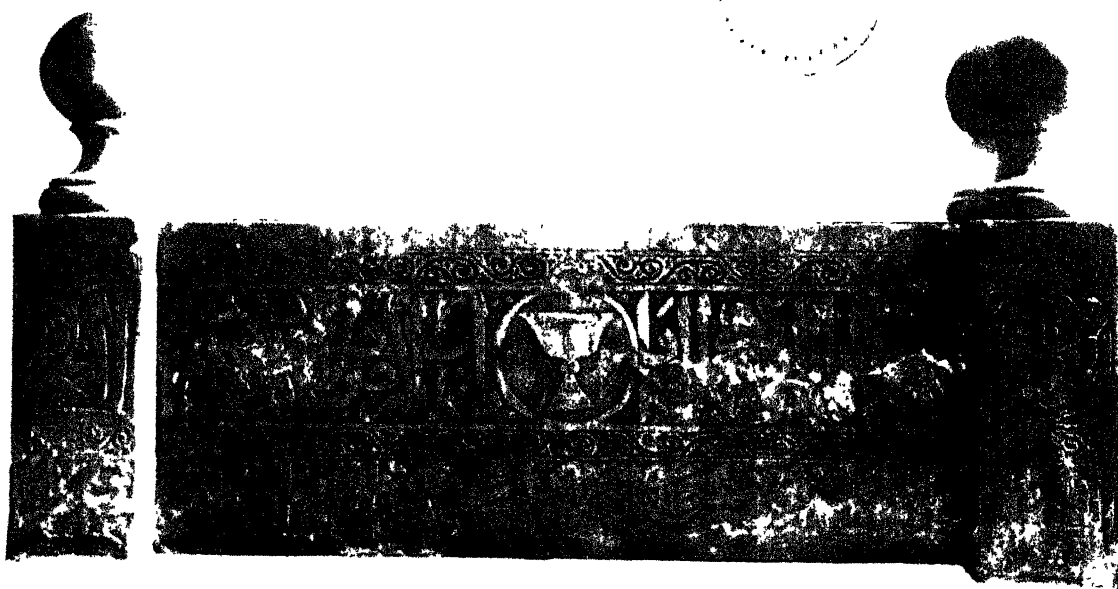
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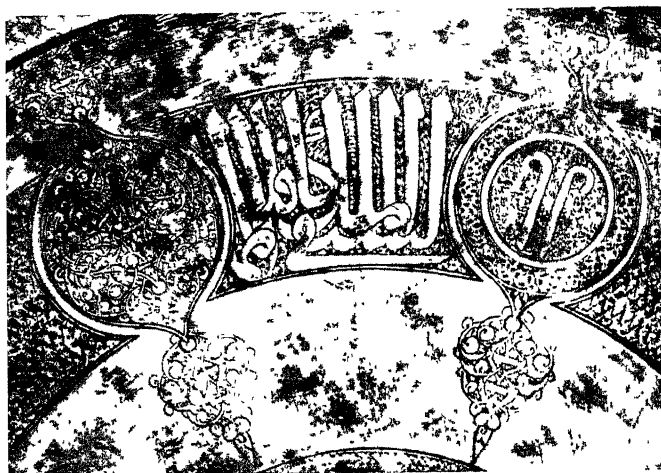


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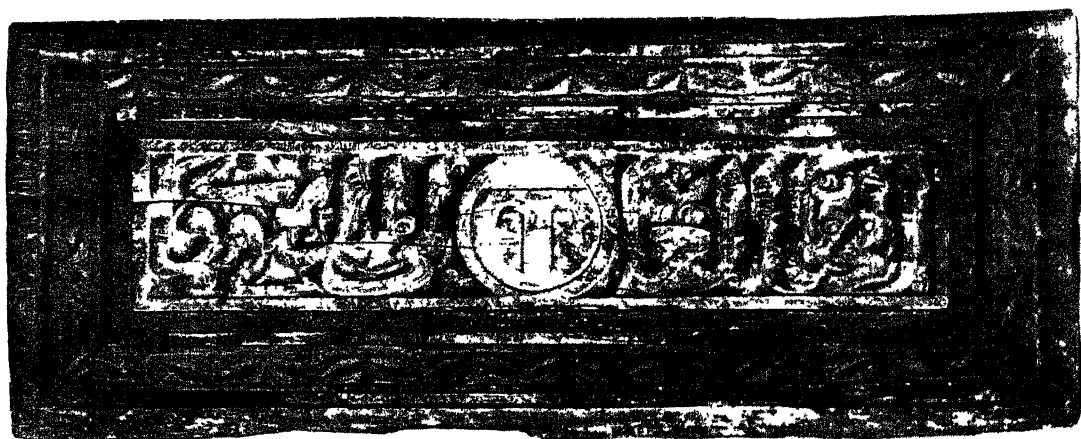


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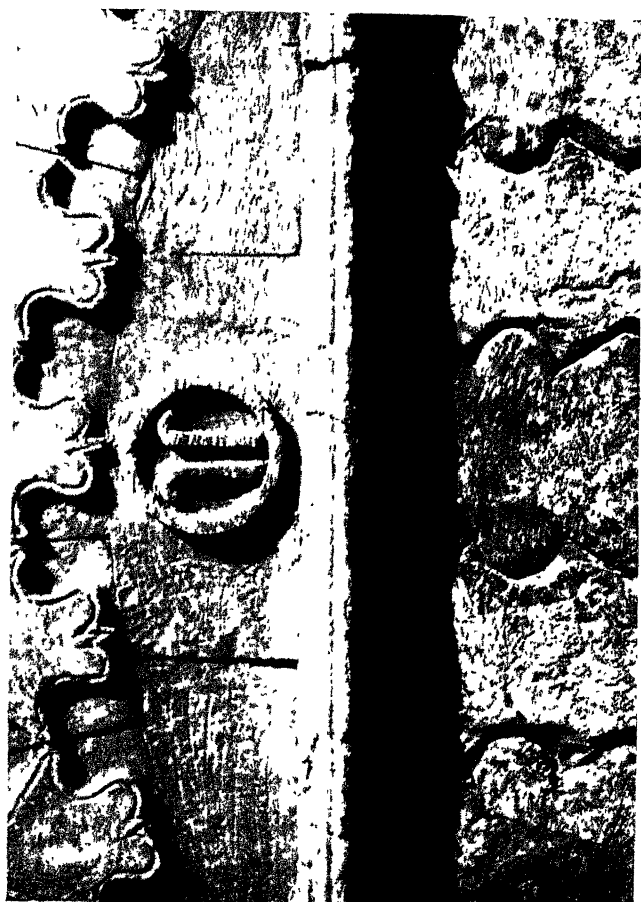
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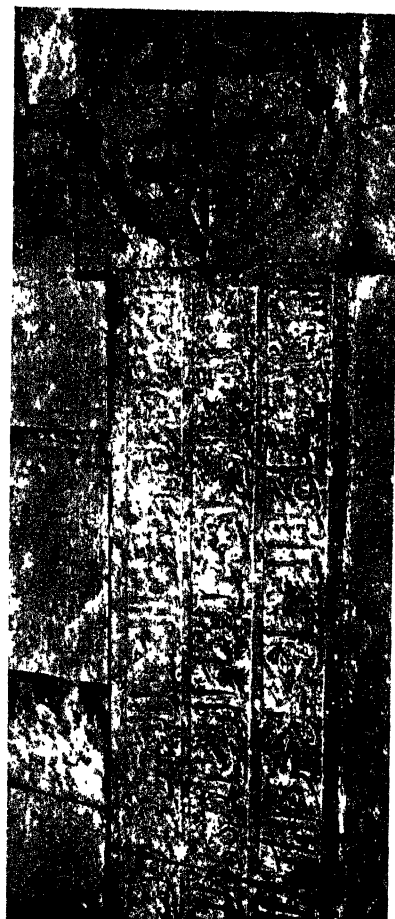
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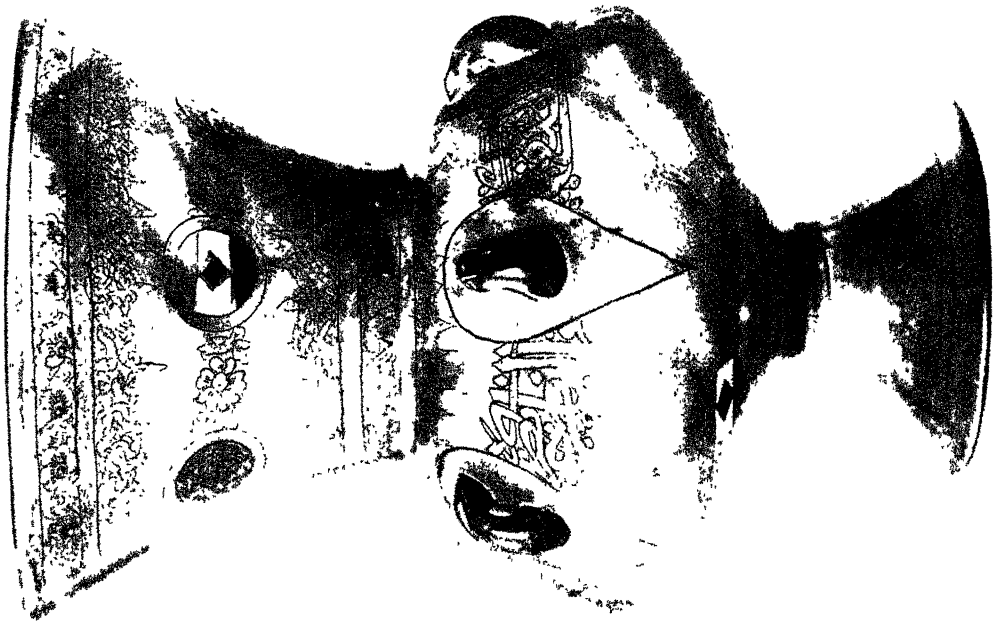
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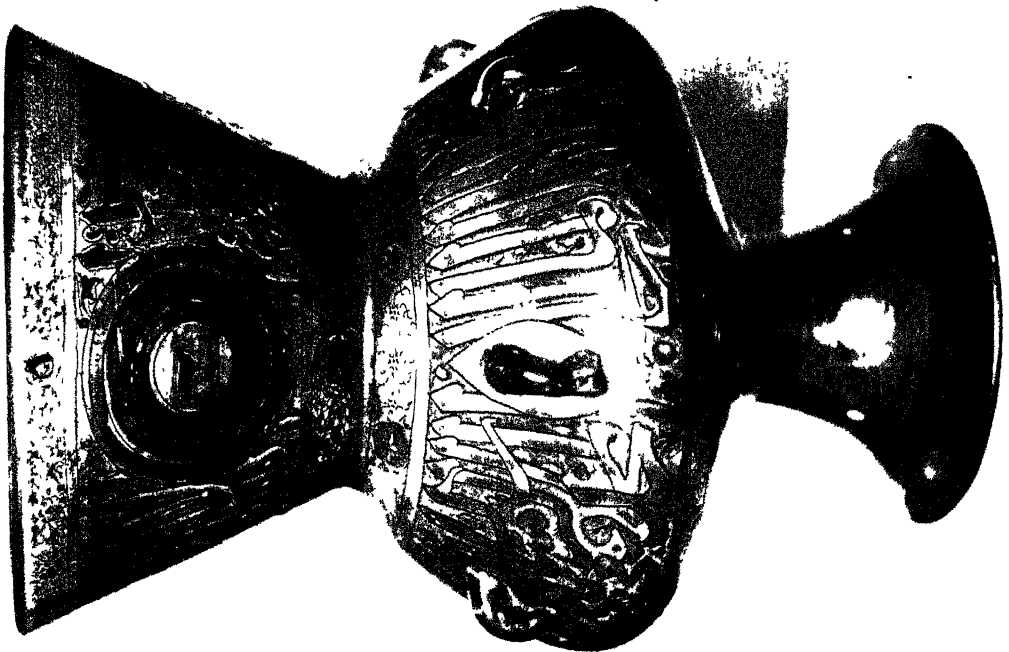
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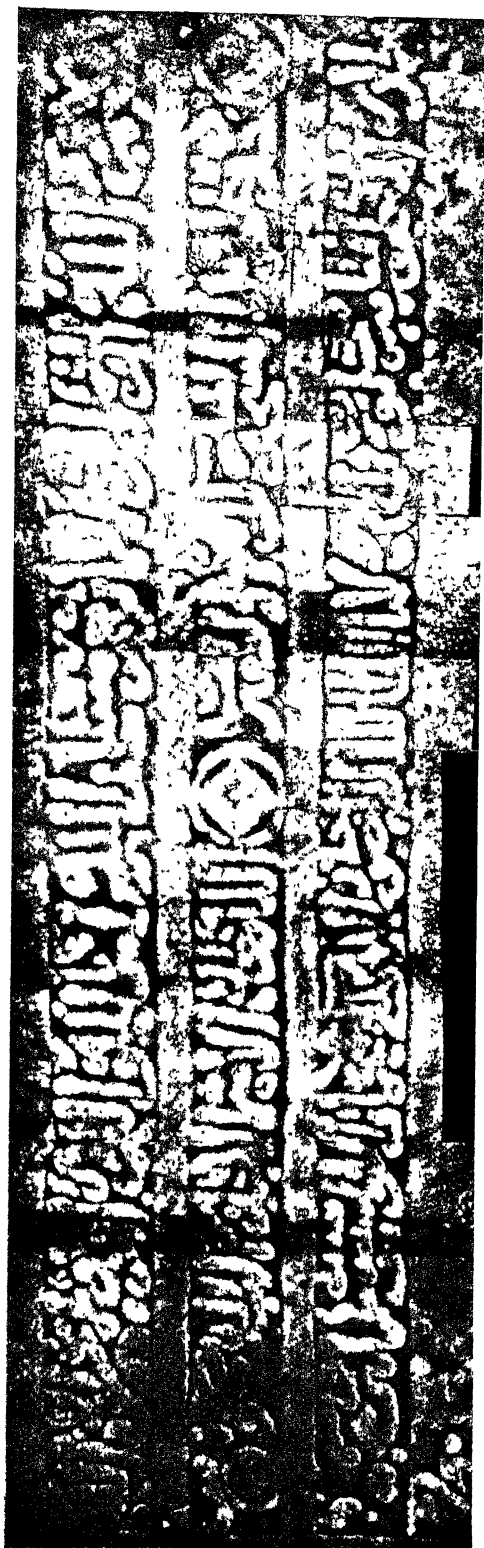


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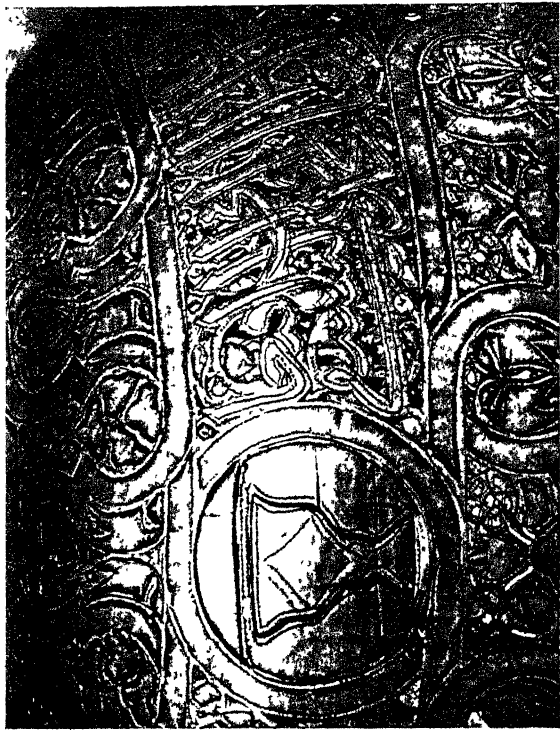
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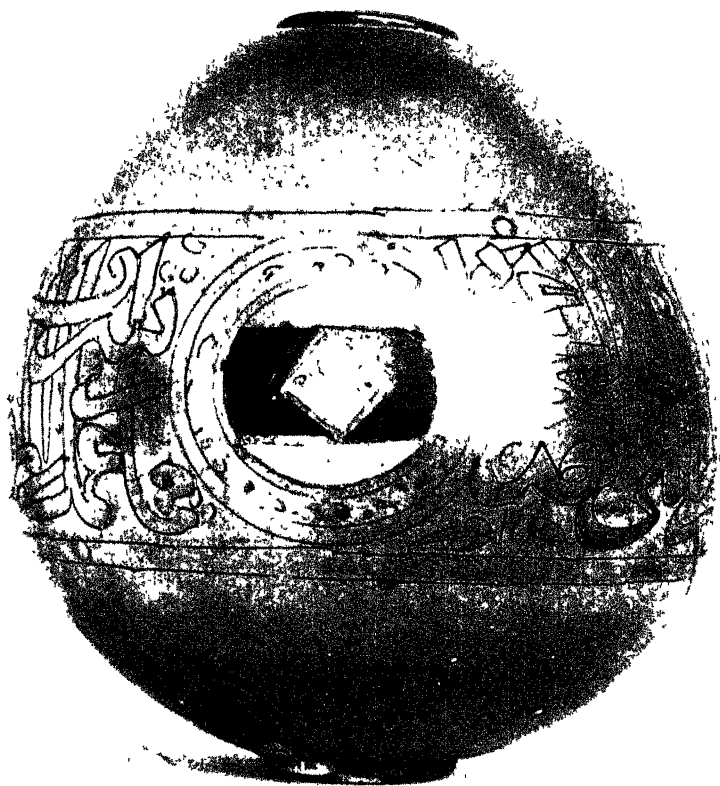
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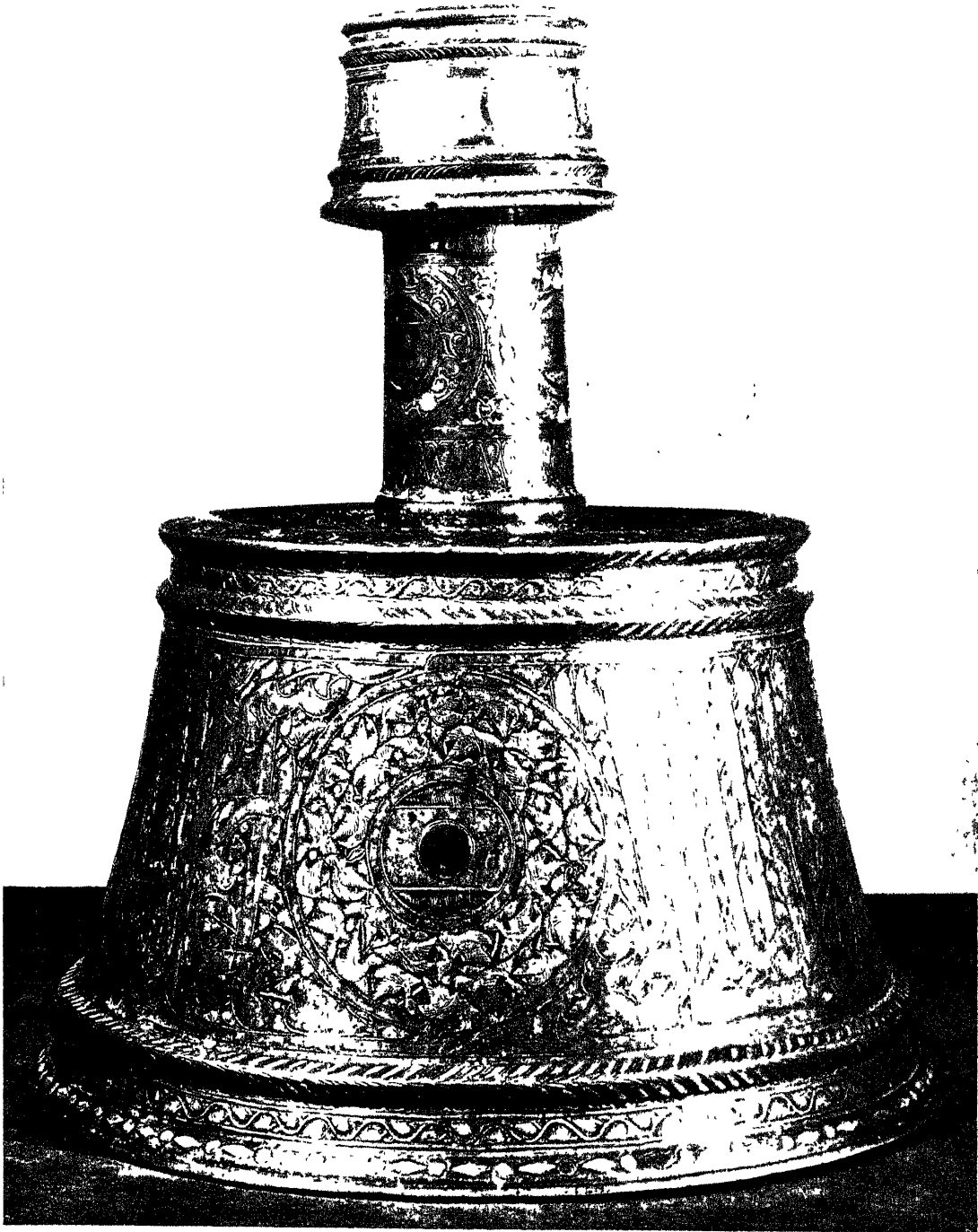
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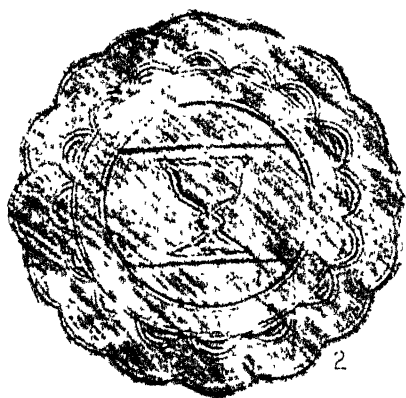


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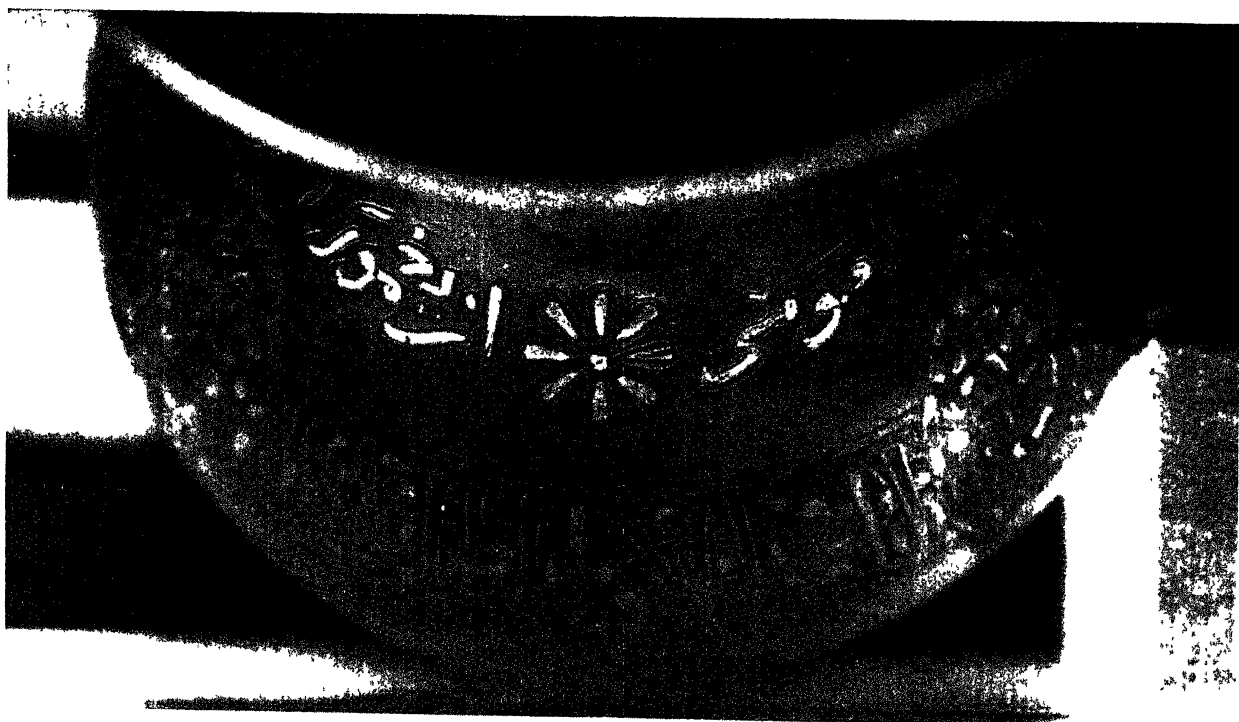
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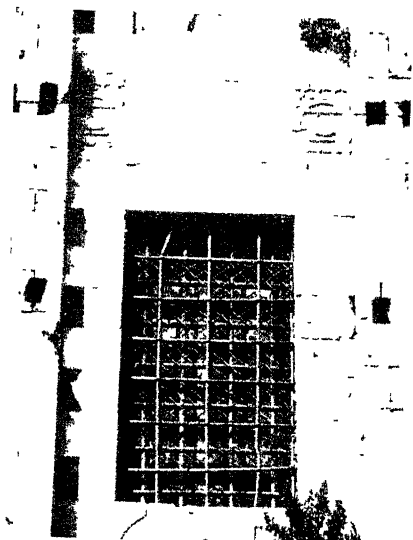
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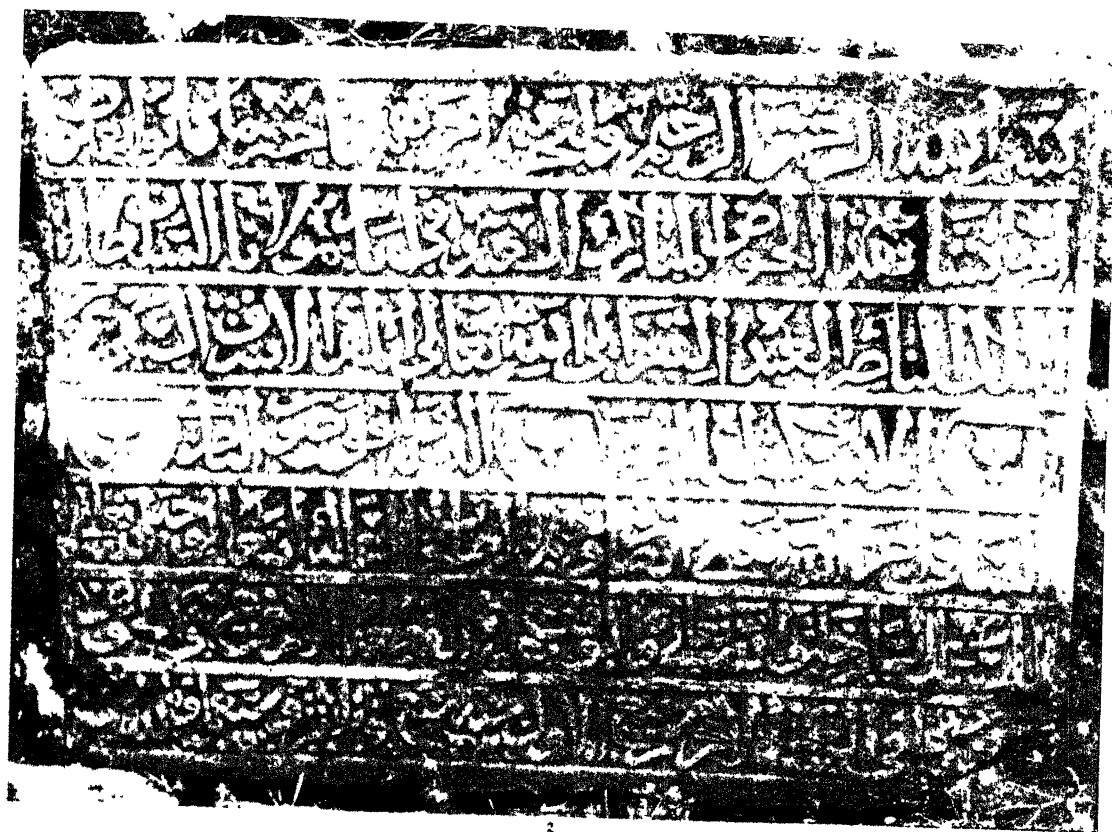
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PLATE XXXVI



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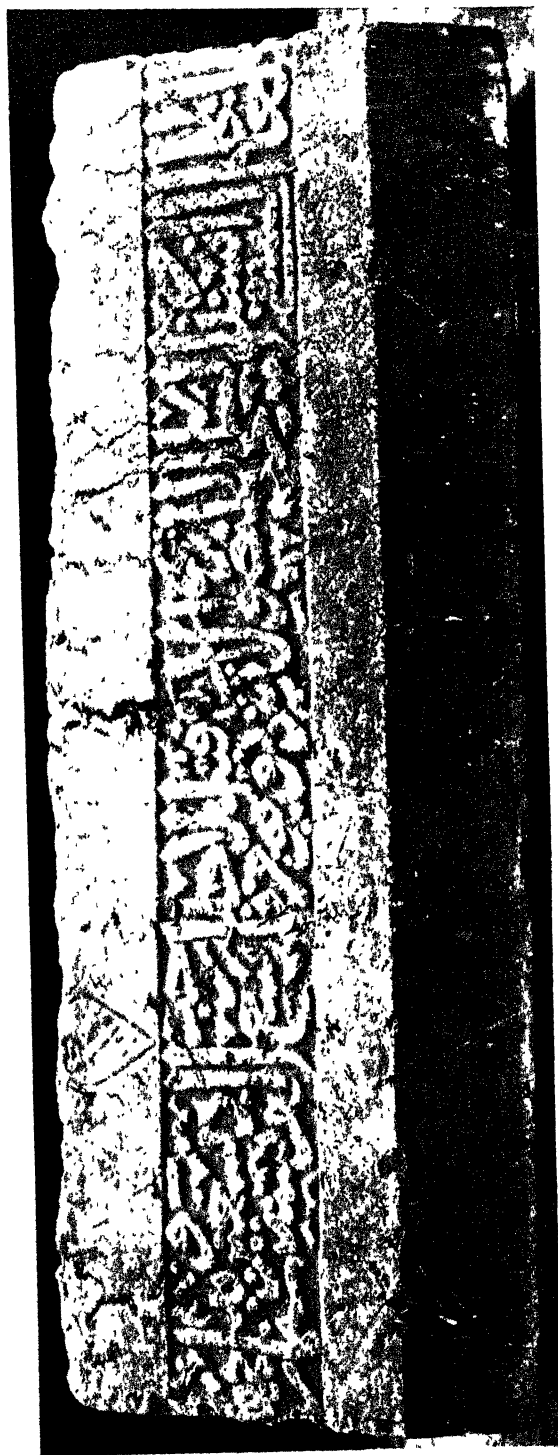


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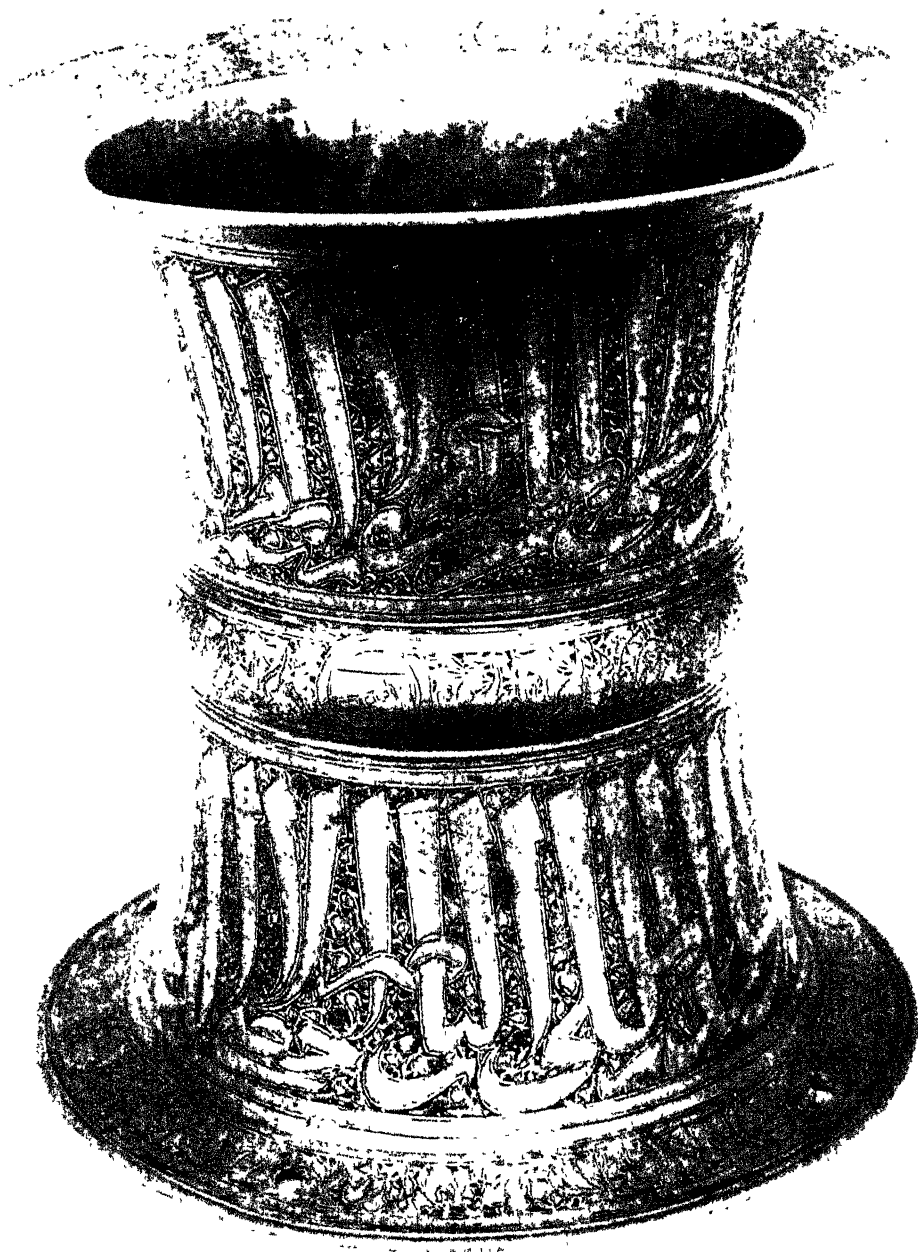




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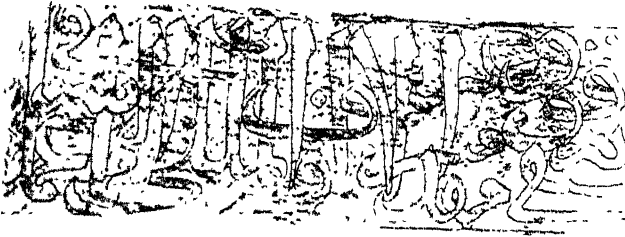


Pin to it, so it is

(Paris) 72 gabeau

ميا عيا به اسم اعظم يا شرف العالي امين ر. ۴۰  
(المعنى بصدق غير مقادير الالوف الملائكة)

(الصفحة) بمقدور غير مقدمين الالوف المائتين

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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1941

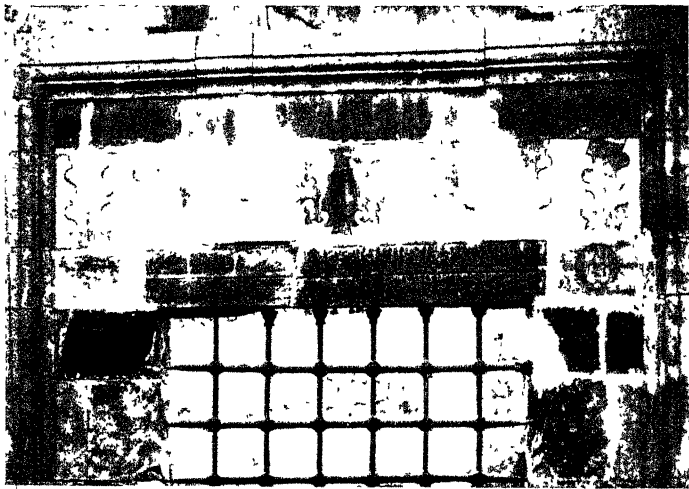
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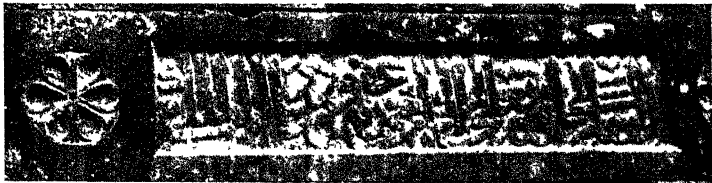
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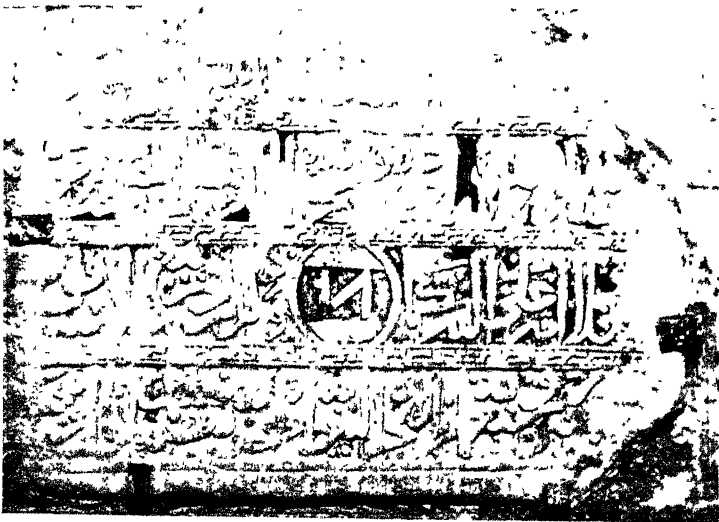
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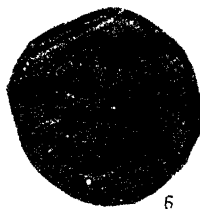
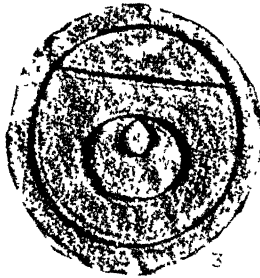
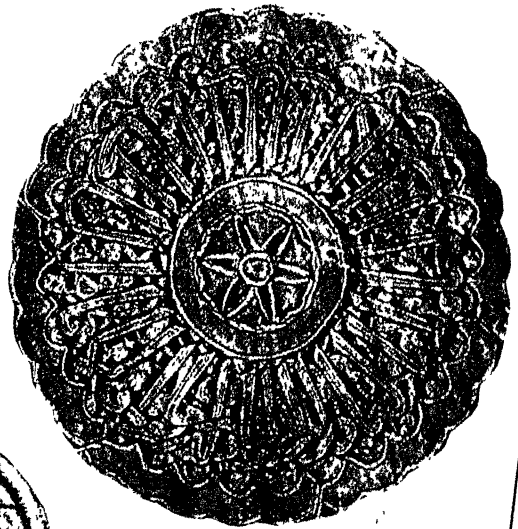
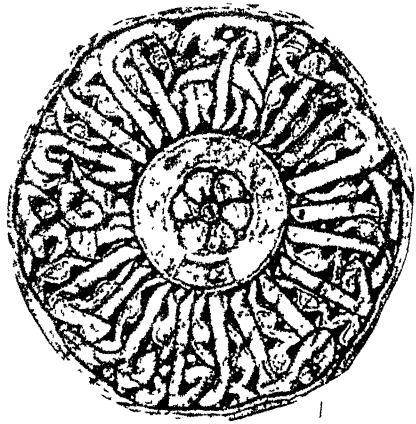
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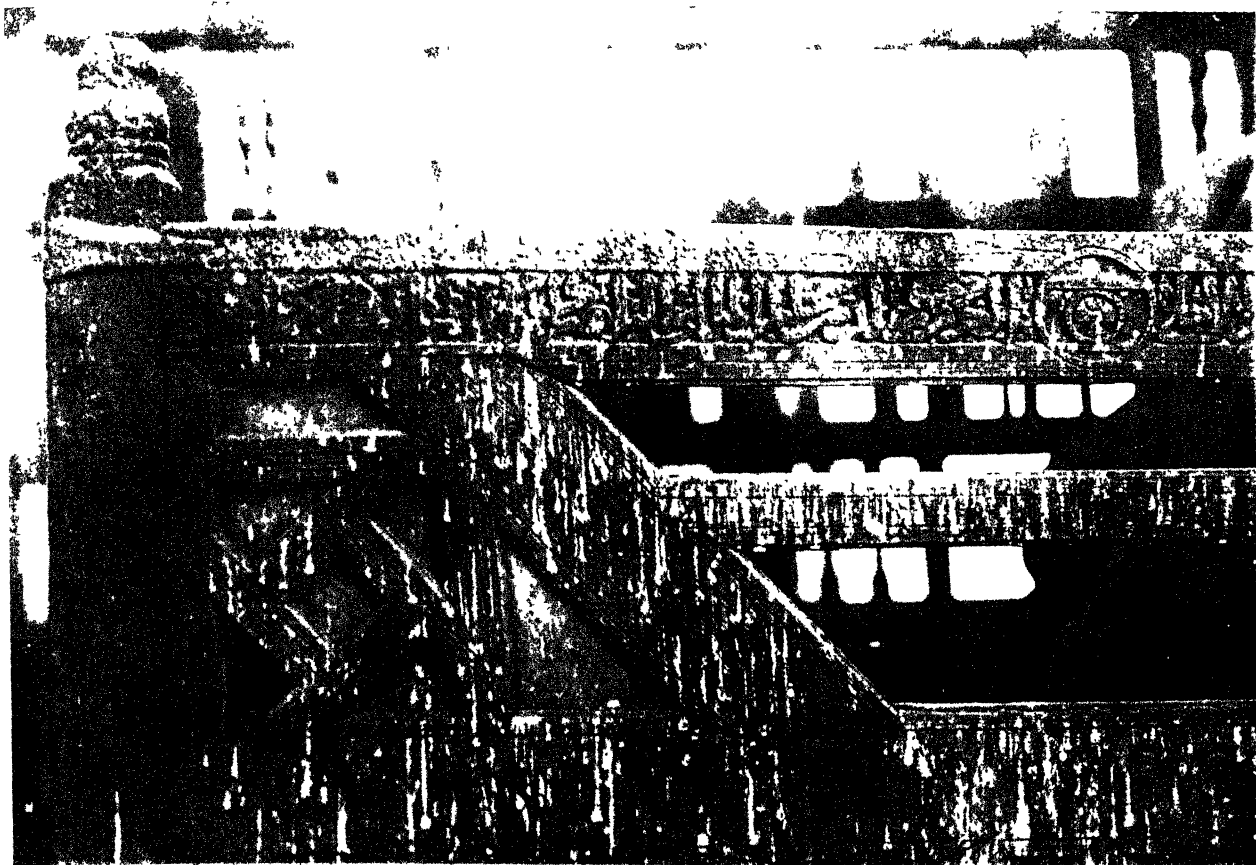


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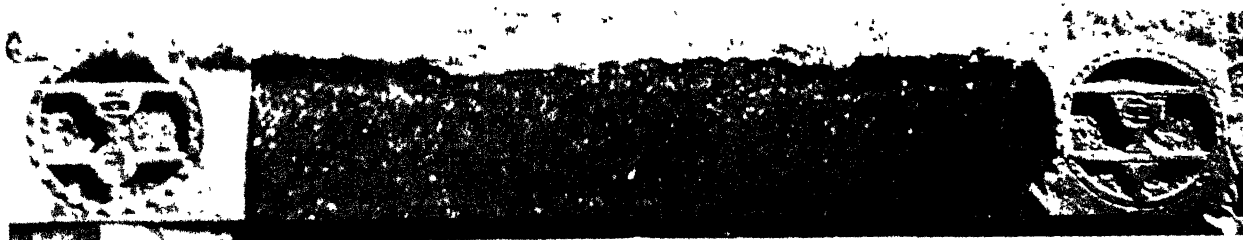


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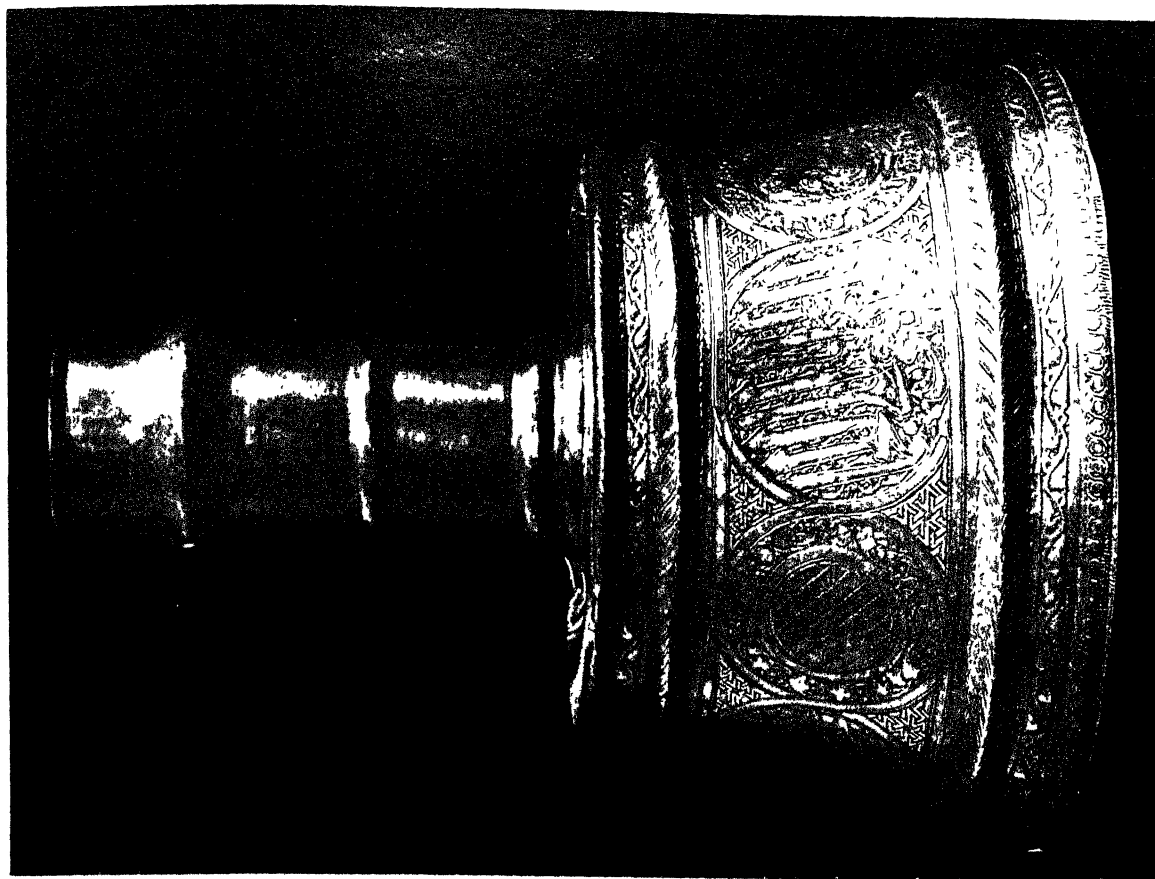


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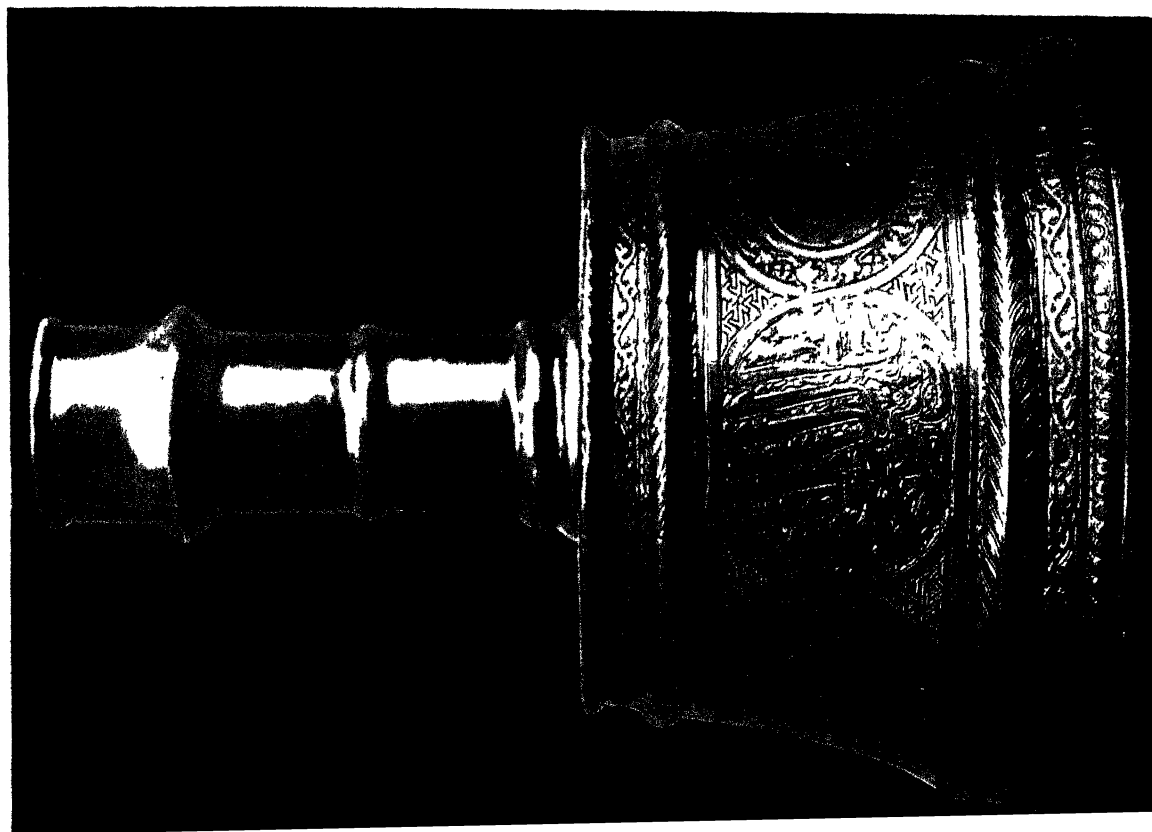


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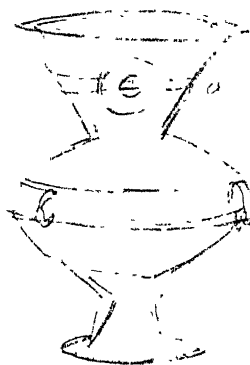
Lampe de couleur rouge à l'air et vers 720  
deux cristaux de couleur bleu ou violet  
sur une surface en fait cristallin ou coloré de 3

ر.م. اعلى الحوزة السيدى الماكى السجدي /  
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Sur cette lampe, voir une note à la lampe  
d'argente de la coll. Ed. Andrieu, cf. Schmaranz  
que est la même? Je crois, peut-être! p. 118

[illegible]

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Sous l'épave, 3 cartouches à peu

plus grande

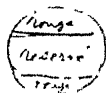


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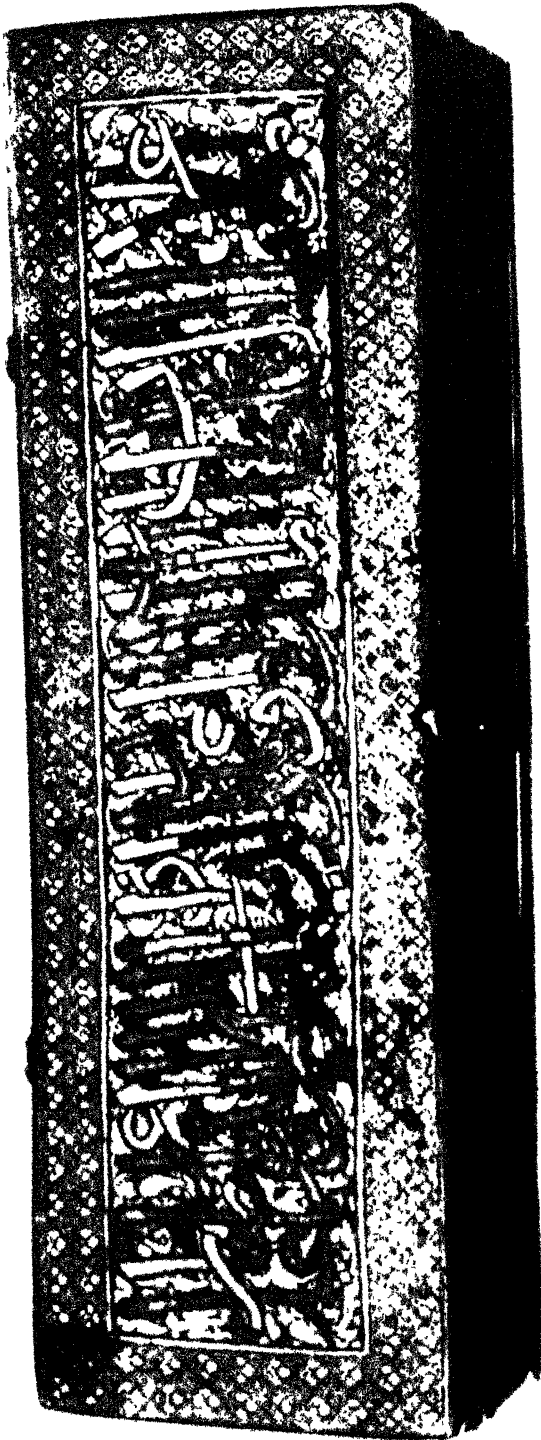


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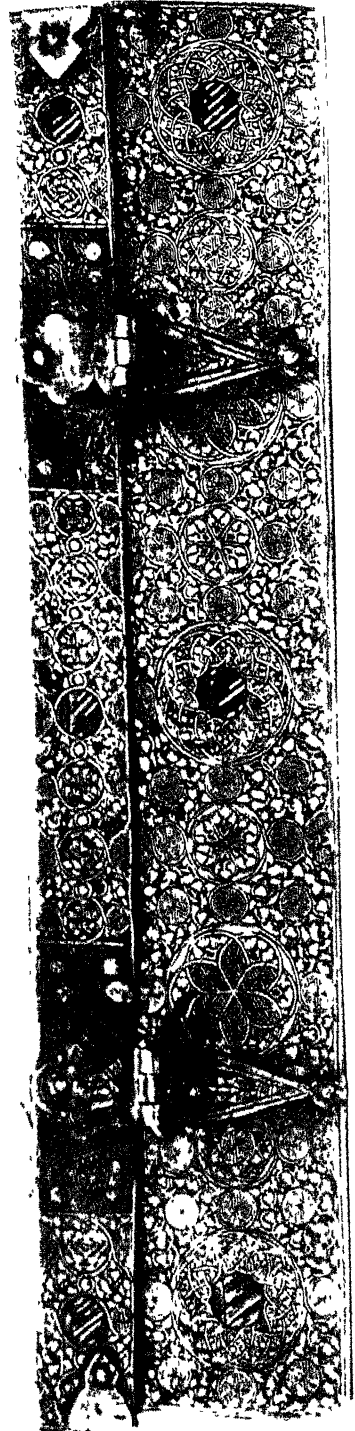


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استهوار و لشمارد و اول آد اول فومد علم اولشدر و مشروح و مقصود  
یادوب هر بزرگ تنها و اویقون و آتدن و سنگر کی که هر بزرگ مخصوص  
اولشدر و هر بزرگ آتدنه شینه داتور و تکی که ادرالد و فهدل آس ادا و  
و القاب هر بزرگان پیشش اویغوز که سه ر بور و زو و ف  
و سه ر اویغوز که پنهانده بود و تنها جا و نوزان و اندامها  
و کویست که هر یک را مخصوصست عیلم و بیجا از بهر که بزرگ ارباب  
حواصیت ننویسای و غوز عادی از دره دای و بیویچ که ذکر اولد  
فان بیخف

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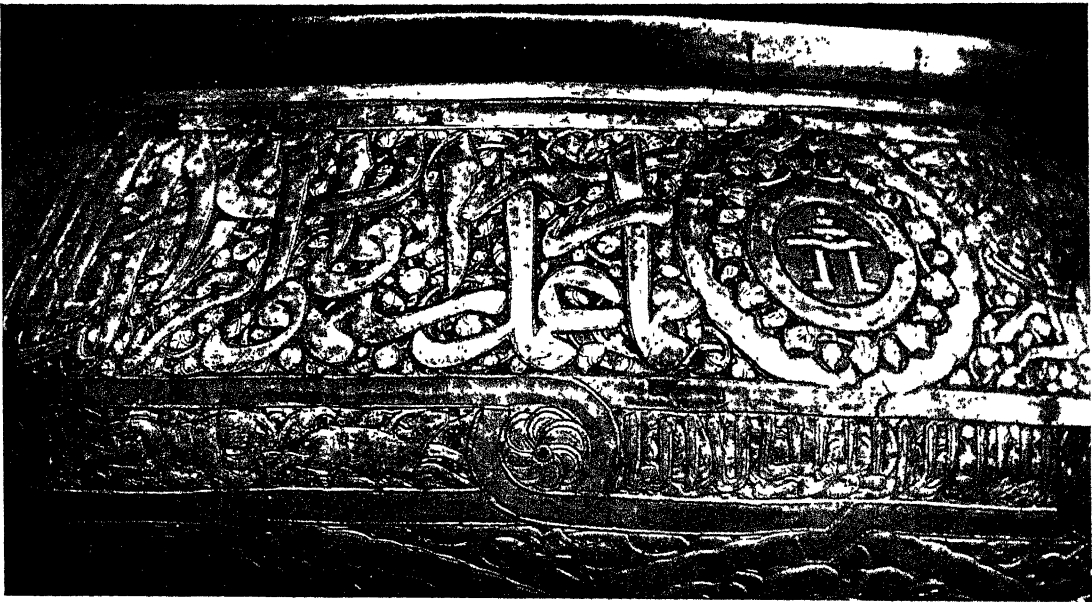
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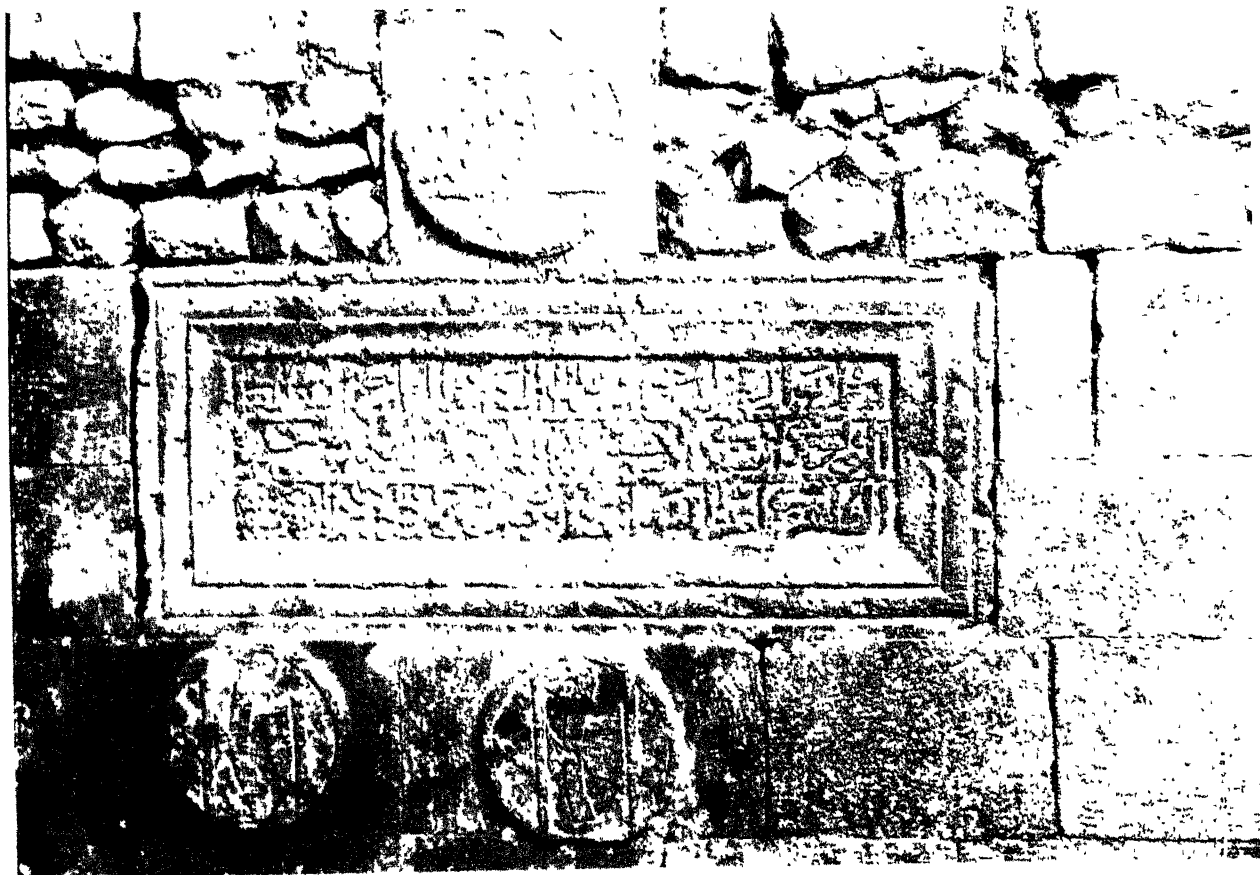
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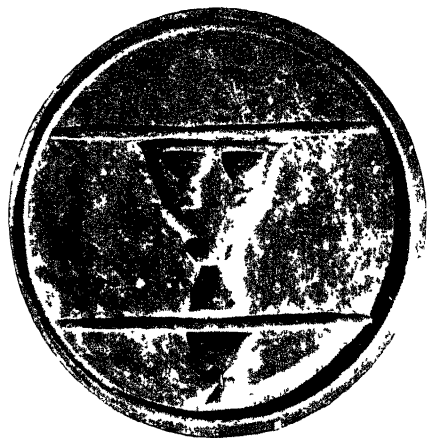






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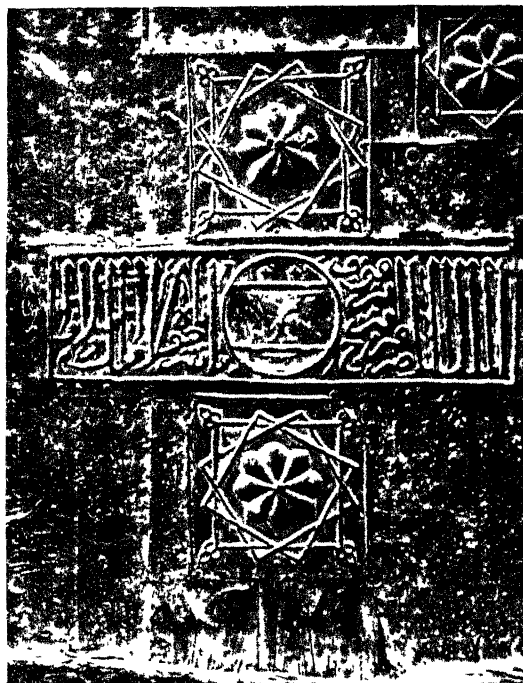




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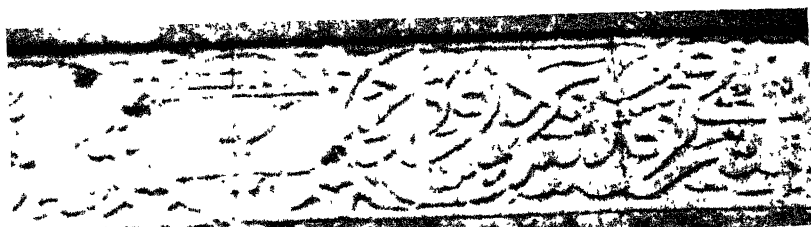
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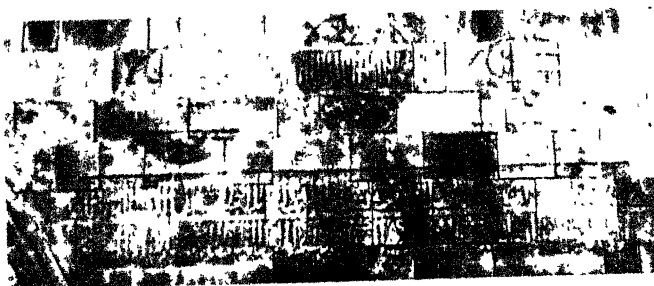
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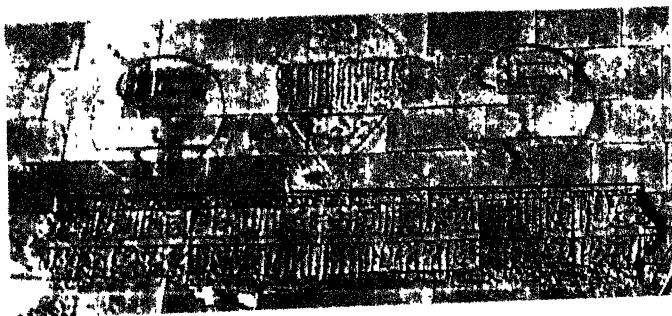
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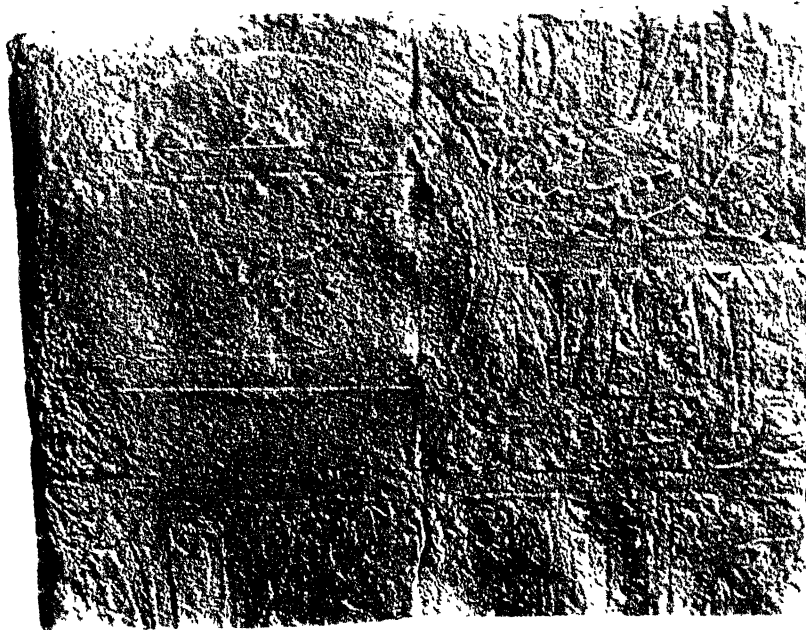
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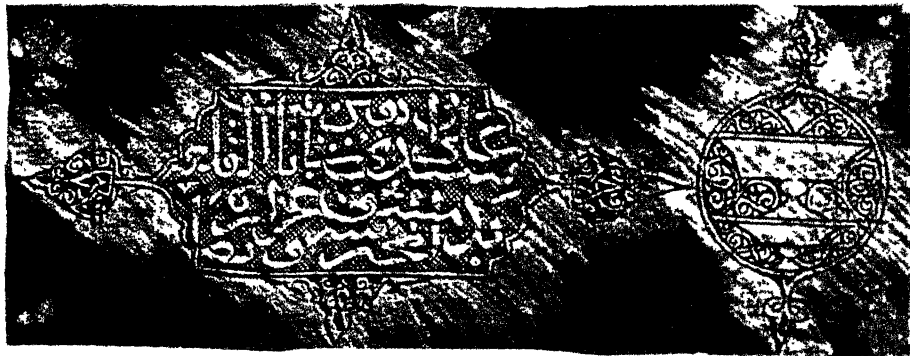
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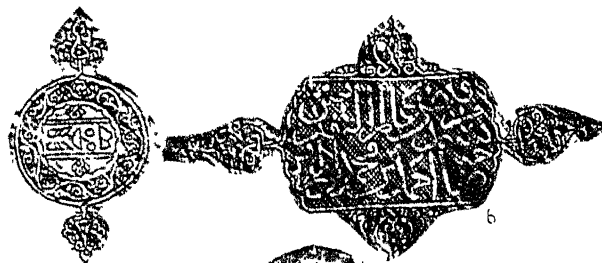
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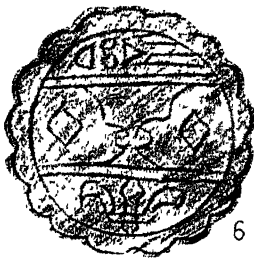
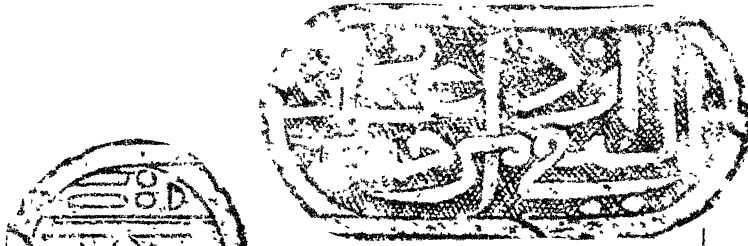
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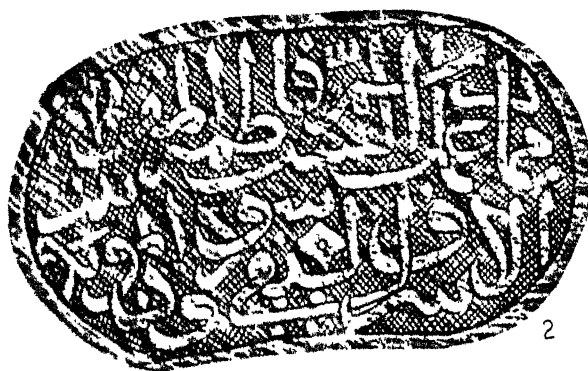
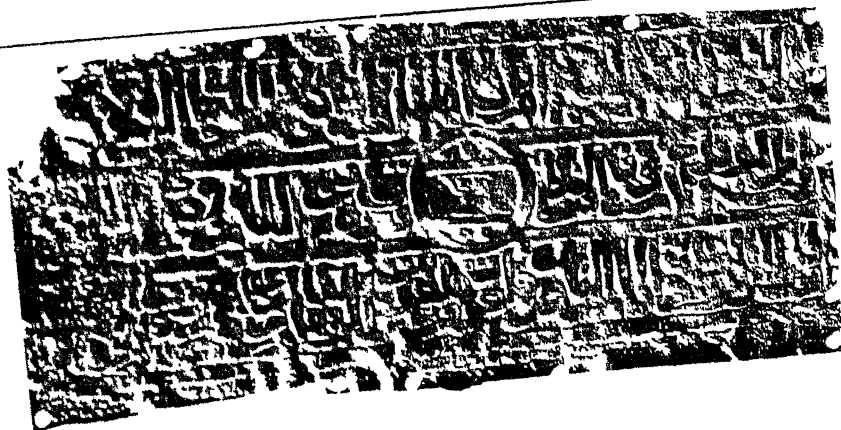


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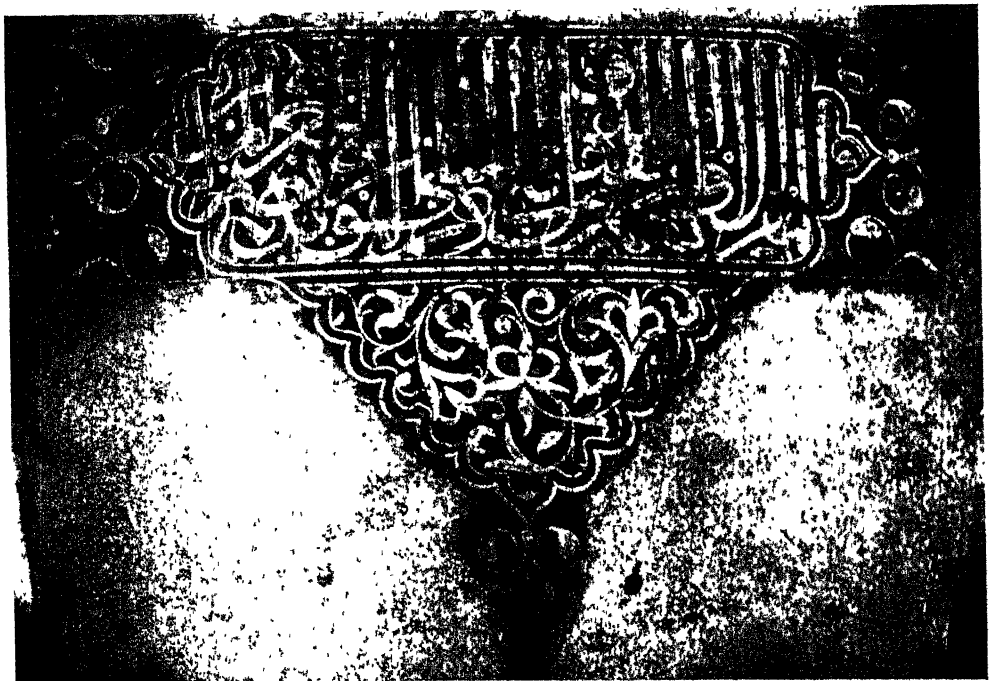
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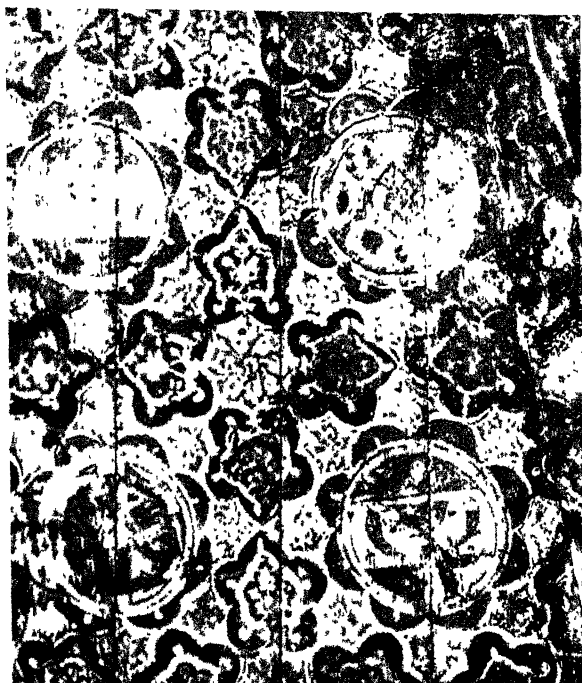


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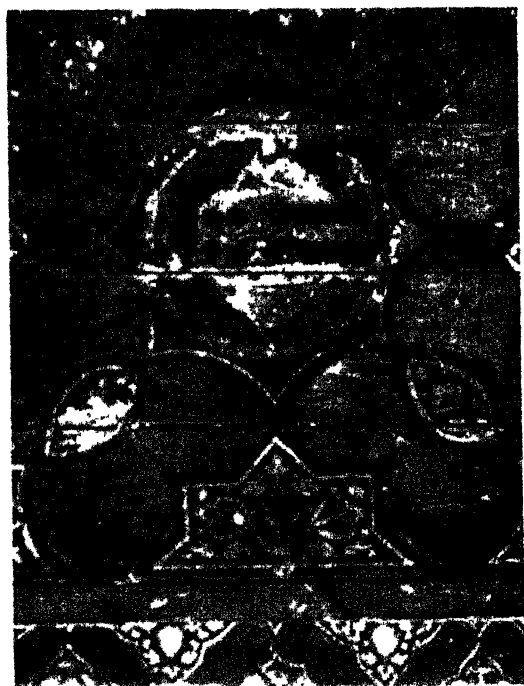


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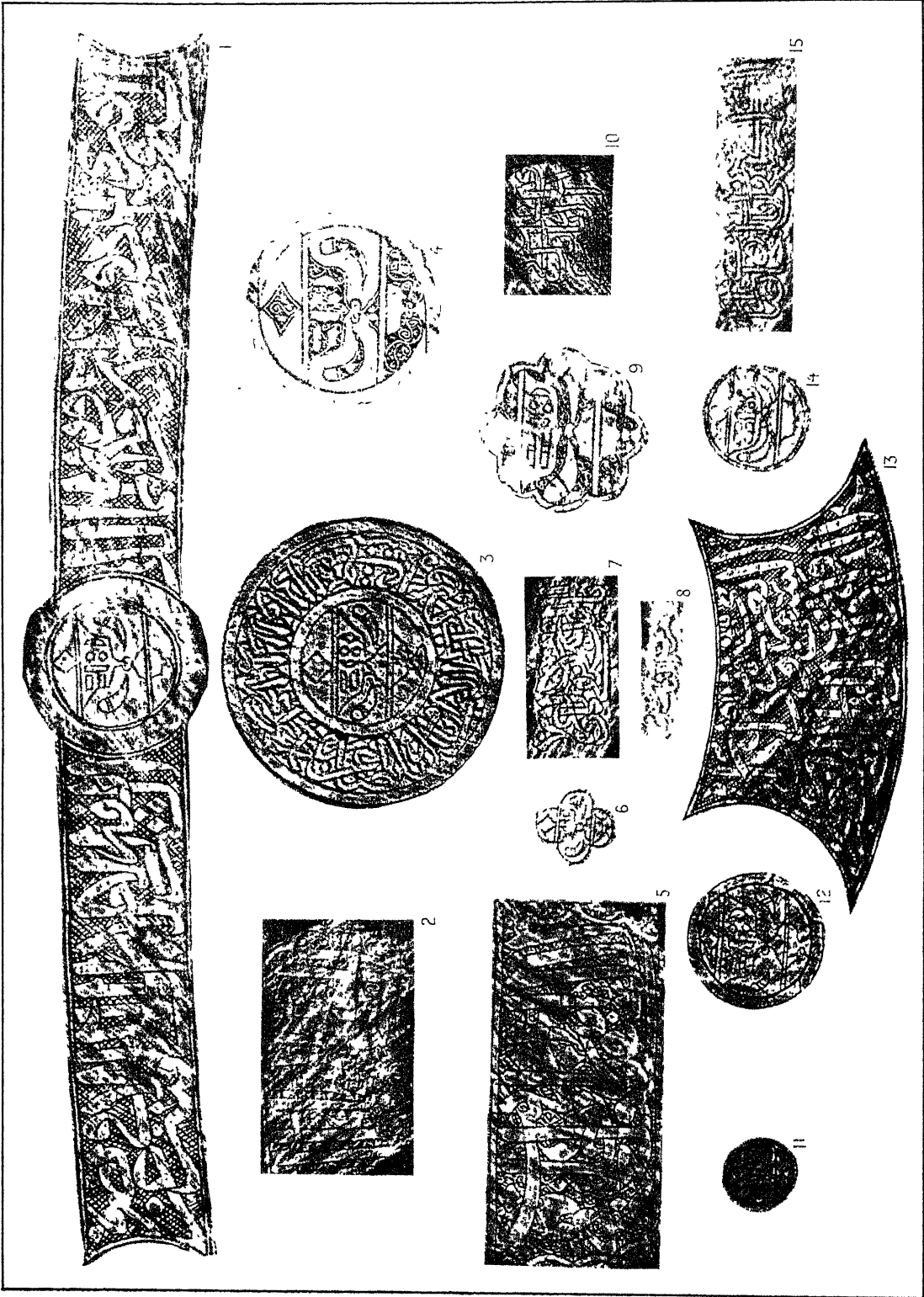
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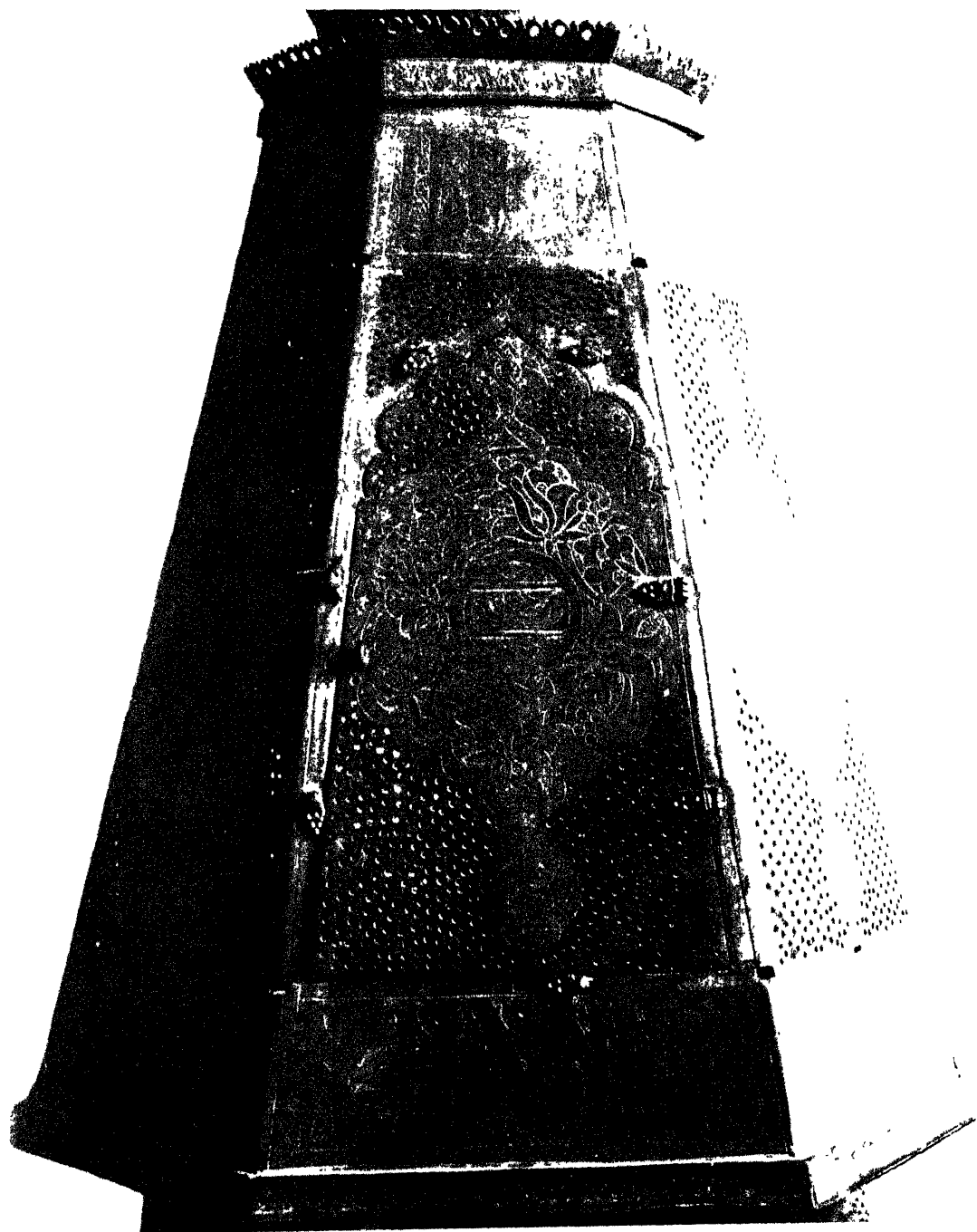


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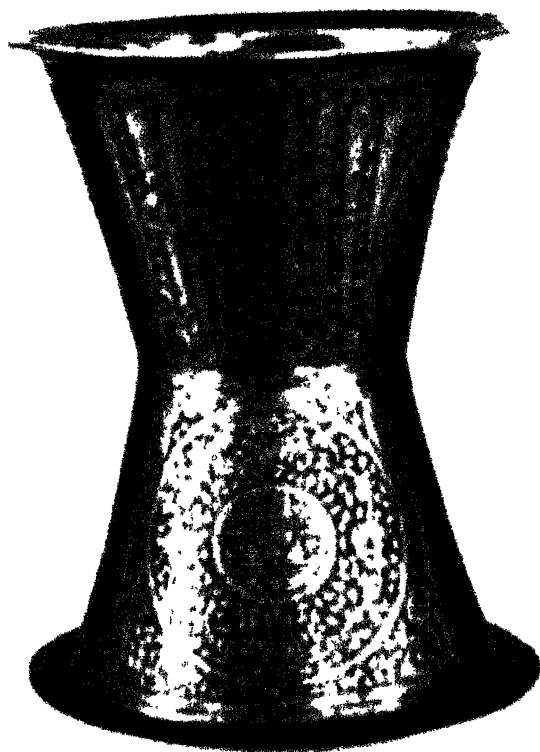
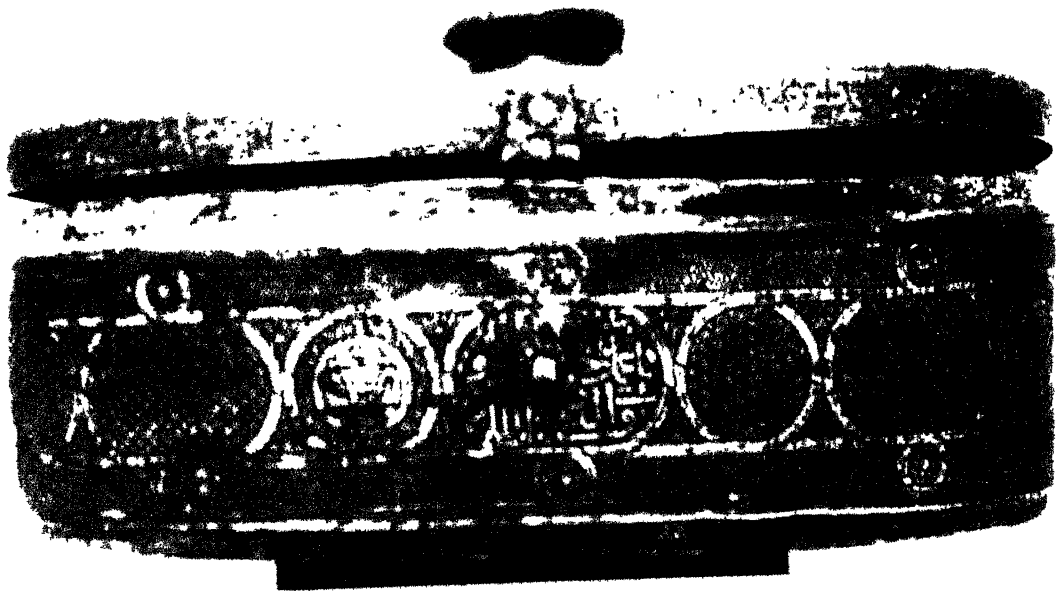


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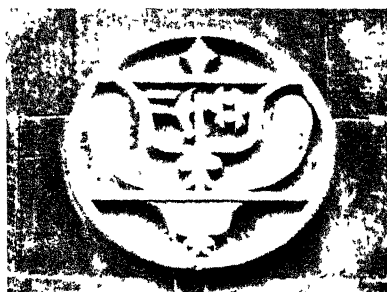




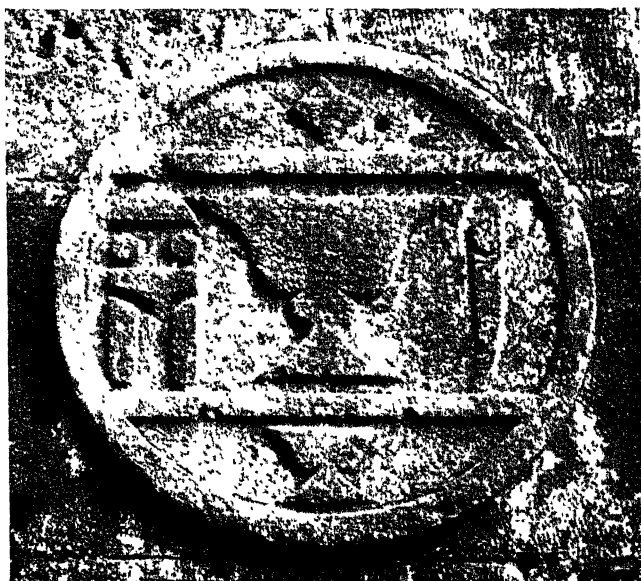
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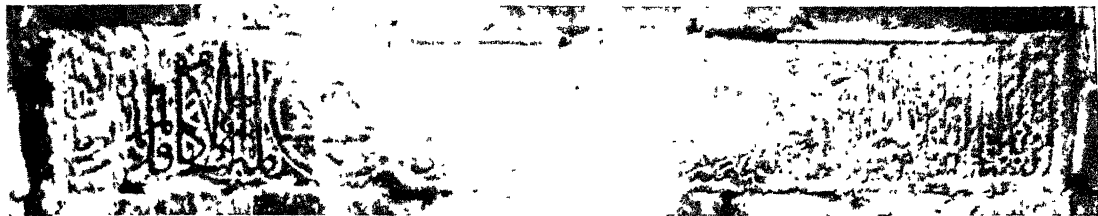
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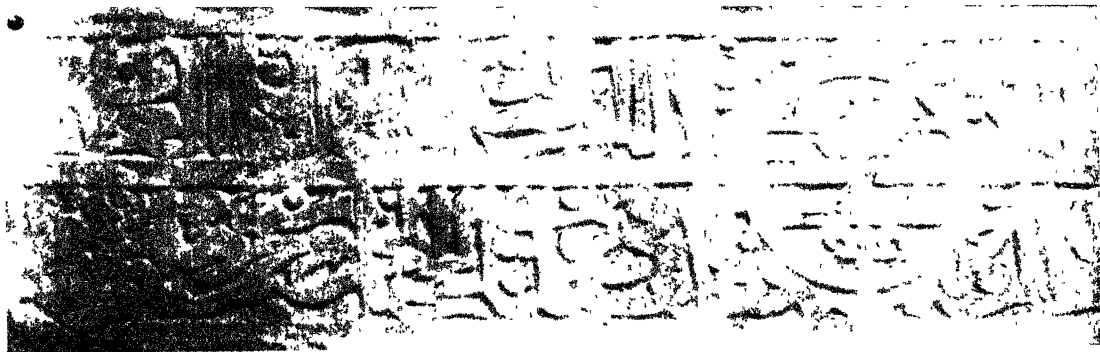
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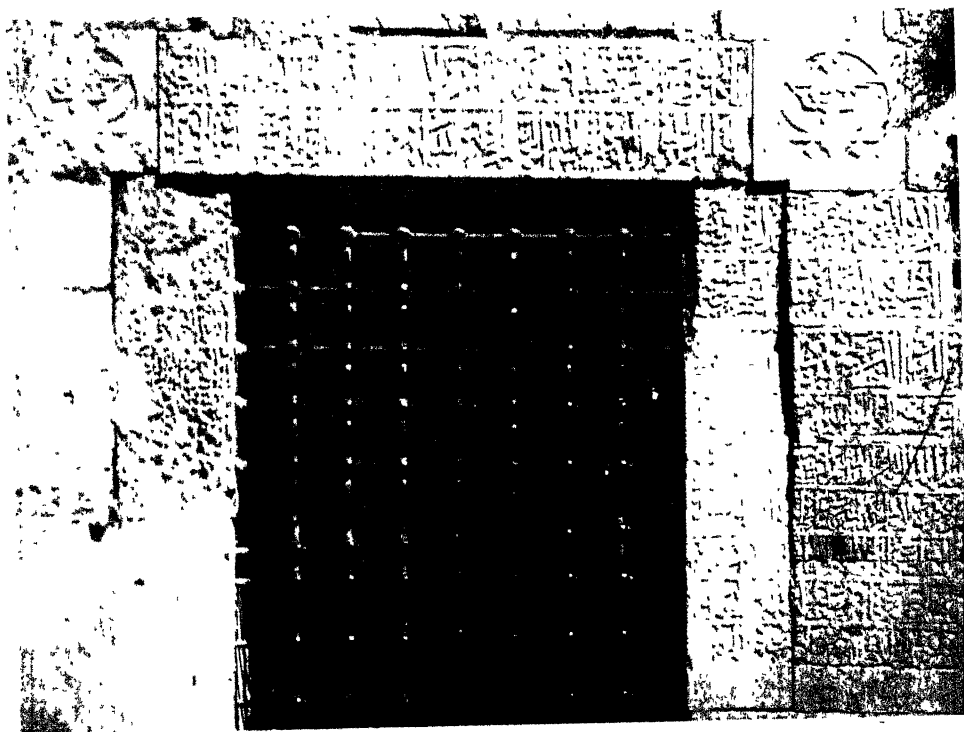
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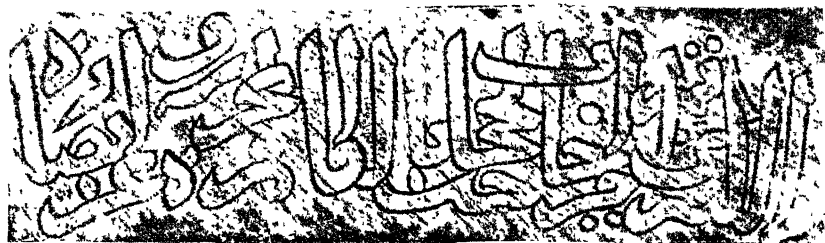
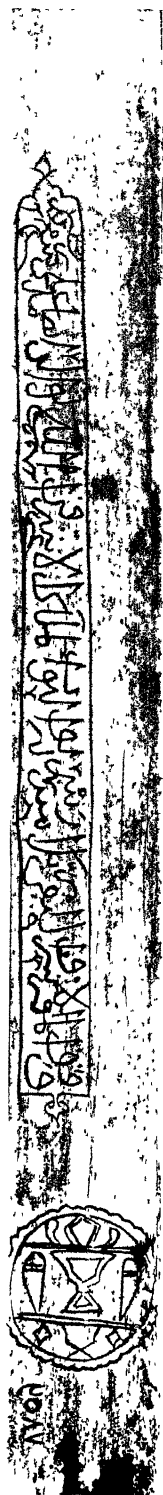
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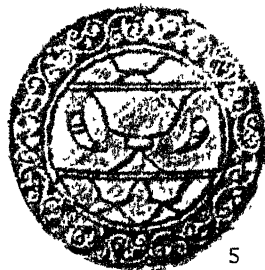
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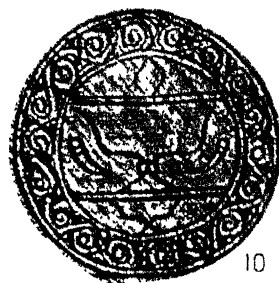
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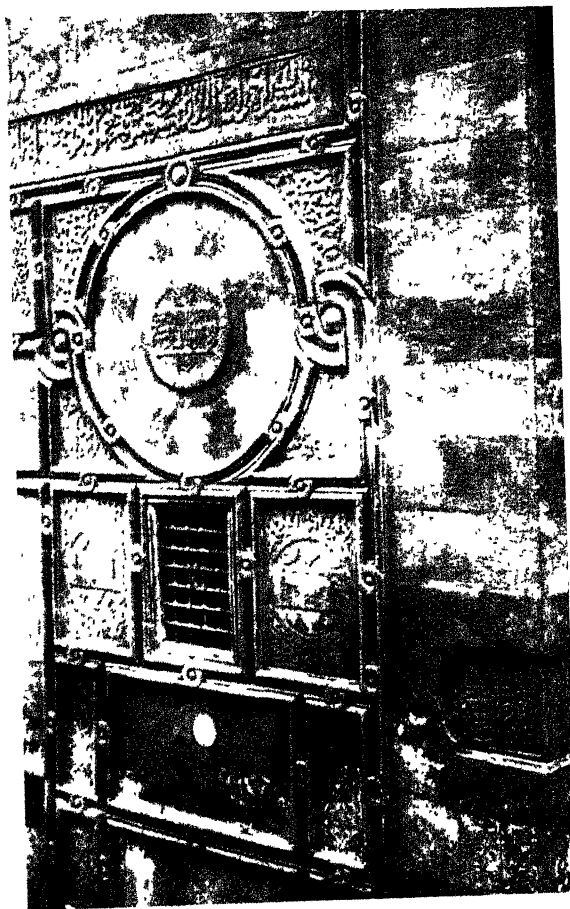


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